

A CRITICAL AND EVALUATIVE STUDY OF EDUCATIONAL
PROVISION IN JAMAICA, 1938 - 1973.

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A B S T R A C T

As a precursor to the study of school-age educational provision in Jamaica, there is a review of the historical, social, cultural and economic factors which have comprised the demographic background in which the schools function. Attention is paid to the considerable body of research, official reports, comment and opinion which avers that Jamaican society is both vulnerable to and influenced by elitism, based upon models borrowed from metropolitan cultures.

The chapters which deal with successive age ranges in the school population offer an objective study of qualitative and quantitative differences between the age sectors and also between schools within each sector. Major influences in educational practice, such as selection for secondary schooling, curriculum choice and the examination process are subjected to scrutiny, though acknowledgements are made to the developmental stage through which the society has been moving throughout the period under review.

While recognition is given to the place of further and higher education as an outcome of the educational system, it has not been possible to offer more than a cursory examination of these sectors.

There is an attempt to examine the educational process as a causal or adaptive feature of a society in a state of rapid change from Colonial to Independent status. There is ready acknowledgement also that the state of affairs observed in the course of an academic year of field study, in 1972 - 1973, was influenced by the political tradition which had ensured a decade of administration by the Jamaica Labour Party.

The implications of the educational process in the island community are set out in the final section, together with a synopsis of the changes in emphasis promised under the administration of the Peoples' National Party.

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I N T R O D U C T I O N

Major influences in the instigation of this research have stemmed from my own work in the training of sub-literate adults, the teaching of English as a second language to foreign students, and teaching in a multi-racial school as well as recent work in teacher education. This has involved the addition to the Trent Park College curriculum of study areas on the multi-racial society, wherein a high priority has been given to developing student awareness of the range of educational backgrounds of pupils born overseas, or of parents of foreign origin. Within the literature generally available for student use, the sources which conveyed information on cultural backgrounds fell short of desired standards where the minutiae of educational provision was concerned.

Studies on the West Indian region, it must be acknowledged, had not been constructed on this basis. For example, Black (1965), and Sherlock (1966) emphasized historical perspectives, including the social and economic effects of a slave society. Simey (1946), Henriques (1953 and 1968), Clarke (1957 and 1966), Smith (1960, 1961, 1962), produced major studies of an anthropological/sociological nature, examining family structures and community and social class relationships. The examination of political and economic transformation in a developing society which these provided was reinforced by more specific studies, such as Evans (1958, 1962), Cohen (1961), Francis (1963) and Rubin (1967), on the Jamaican rural community and the adolescent, on teacher education or on the Ministerial system in education, and on population studies or in an investigation into the outcomes of deprivation, wherein a number of deficits in educational opportunity were stressed, albeit in general terms.

Studies on education for the Caribbean, or for Jamaica, were numerous though of uneven quality and coverage. Principal sources for the early part of the period were the Reports of Royal Commissions or Committees. The extensive regional study encompassed by the West India Royal Commission and

the Committee Reports headed by Kandell and Easter, on the system of secondary education in the island, gave insights into the goals and values of Jamaican society in the colonial era. Also of value were the Annual Reports of the Jamaican Department of Education.

Within the period of self-government and Independence, National Plans, and Five Year Development Plans of the National Planning Agency gave attention to the place of education in the island economy. More specifically for the purposes of this research, were Education Acts and Government White Papers, the most notable in the period being the 1966 New Deal for Education in Independent Jamaica. However, sources were sparse for the early years of independent administration, School Directories in particular being refurbished intermittently, with a greater abundance of official publications arising out of the expansion in educational provision which the New Deal promised. The part played in vocational training by ministries other than that of Education seemed inevitable in the developing situation. Contributions from the Ministries of Health, Development and Welfare, Finance, Labour, and Youth and Community Development proved useful in gaining insights into community needs in the island. Data from the Department of Statistics, relating the work of Francis to subsequent information from the 1970 census, and from the West Indian Medical Journal and the Caribbean Conference for Mental Health provided further study in depth of varying degrees of well-being in the population at the end of the 1960's and the early 1970's. A range of reports, researches and theses of the University of the West Indies and articles in journals, such as The International Labour Review or Overseas Education provided selective material on several aspects of the island educational system. Much of this, however, was relevant to particular spheres only: the Project for Early Childhood Education, the implementation and administration of the World Bank Loan for Junior Secondary schools, or studies on teacher education. Several studies on the social hierarchy in the island, Bell (1962), Broom (1954), Eyre (1966), commented upon the influence of elites. The impact of migration, seemingly an

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outcome of education, was the topic of work by Ebanks (1968), Evans (1967), Lowenthal (1972) and Kuper (1976).

Socio-economic factors affecting the aspiration of working-class Jamaicans were studied by Smith (1960), Brooks (1962), Cumper (1962), Strumpel (1965) and Miller (1971), and the influence of environment upon mental ability was examined by Manley (1963), Reid (1964), Evans (1964) and Williams (1951 and 1968). The question of employment, in particular the case for youth employment, was studied in papers by Harewood (1960), Campbell (1965), and at the Commonwealth Caribbean Regional Youth Seminar held in Port of Spain (1970). Employment and unemployment were also the object of attention for a mission, requested by the Government of Jamaica, from the International Labour Organisation (1972), when the issues of educability, of attainment, under-attainment and the acquisition of basic skills were of keen interest to members of the enquiry.

Despite the sentiments implicit in the island motto, "Out of many, one people" cultural identity and division of interests promoted by social class hierarchies were still apparent, though one should hasten to comment that this is not to suggest that Jamaica was unique in this. Many of the tensions which resulted were of a multi-ethnic basis and the seeming perpetuation of 'deprivation and disadvantage' appeared to provide ammunition for the politics both of envy and expectation. These topics were the object of many studies, especially during the first decade of Independence: Smith, Augier and Nettleford (1960), Rubin (1967), Mau (1968), Miller (1969), Nettleford (1970), Lowenthal (1970, 1972), and Milner (1975).

The theme of educational provision was a consistent source of discussion, though usually at a somewhat generalised level, with the study of inequalities, and conflicting views as to the efficacy of education as a social service, forming the threads of many of the commentaries. The study by Figueroa (1971), devoted to an examination of schools and society in the Caribbean region, while giving an intellectual and philosophical gloss to the picture, failed to quantify the complexities of education in a society with ambivalent views as to who should do what, with which and for whom.

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In the second half of the field study year a proliferation of papers on developmental aspects of the educational philosophy of the new administration indicated clearly new emphases in education. A salient feature of most of the material which came to hand was the recognition of a social class hierarchy based partly, if not largely, on ethnic differences, yet no study attempted specifically to indicate the influence of the educational process as a causal or adaptive feature of the society. There is little point, it seems, in assessing the implications of an educational system unless the ramifications of educational provision are set out clearly. This, then, appeared to justify a study of the facets of the educational system which could explore variations in the availability of opportunity at successive age ranges, as well as inquiring into the disposition of resources made accessible to teacher, pupil or school.

In the designing of the research plan these appeared to be matters of vital concern. The practicalities of the teaching situation are bound up with questions of who shall be educated and to what level, of what funding or materials should be disbursed for the educational process, and whether education is an equal right or not. It is apparent that questions of such a fundamental nature plague many societies. The case for Jamaica as a study area was bound up with its size as a relatively small community, with the fact that it offered the possibility of a practical analysis of the whole spectrum of state and state-aided school provision, and also that it had been a major contributor to the process of migration, significantly to the United Kingdom, in the 1950's and 1960's.

As a contribution to the understanding of the system of education in the island, and also to increasing awareness as to the educational background of those Jamaicans who had emigrated to Britain, the need appeared to exist for a study which attempted to explore the wide extent of educational provision in Jamaica at school-age levels, while attempting also to assess the weight and range of social forces which contributed to levels of inequality or of

excellence. It was also necessary to recognise degrees of progress in planning and administration for education in a developing economy and to acknowledge the countervailing influences which acted as brakes upon progress.

The thesis is seen, therefore, as an investigation into the nature of the teaching situation and the implications of teacher/pupil, teacher/teacher, parent/teacher relationships as they impinge upon the development of age-cohorts of Jamaican pupils. It also incorporates a study of school mechanisms, such as selective or streaming processes, the evaluation of pupil progress and the inter-relationships between the developing educational structure and the complexities of a society striving to establish its identity.

Methodology

It was with these objectives in mind that the preparation for the field study was carried out. A review of the available sources; publications, reports and articles accessible in the United Kingdom was begun, as was the establishment of links with institutions and individuals concerned with the development and practice of education in the island. Once the field study was under way, the cooperation and hospitality of the Jamaican community was remarkable, in suggesting or unearthing relevant material in support of the research. Many times the donation of scarce documents, surveys, or considerably dated reports was an invaluable adjunct to the helpful attitudes found.

There was a hiatus in the field work through what can be carefully termed 'bureaucratic intransigence'. It was recognised that a form of official sanction for a first-hand inquiry into school conditions was essential. The request was passed along, or 'up' the line, but then refused. The official in question was shown letters from his own colleagues expressing interest and approval for the intention and scope of the proposed study, but insisted warily that things may well not be as they seemed. The only safeguard which he would accept, giving credence both to research and researcher, would be direct approval of the project from London to himself. Even a subsequent interview, at Ministerial level, secured through the good offices of friends in the island, failed to break the deadlock and over two months elapsed before the letter sanctioning field study

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inquiry was produced. However, the objectives of the study were not as a result affected adversely. In circles other than the Ministry the story of the hold-up seemed to tell in favour of the interests of the research, individuals appearing to go out of their way to contribute material or advice. In another direction, the delay proved fruitful. Since the major objective of touring a range of schools was thwarted by the absence of a letter of credence, much of the time was put to gaining first hand experience in teaching alongside the system. This occurred when, upon visiting the Priory school, the major private school in the island, an invitation was given to join the staff on a temporary basis. By helping out in an emergency, created by a staffing crisis in the science department, many insights were gained into pupil/teacher relationships, albeit at a privileged level in pupil terms, during the last ten weeks of the autumn term.

The collection of material proceeded at the same time, the most fruitful sources being the Faculty of Education and the Institute for Social and Economic Research at the University of the West Indies. The interest and constructive guidance of the librarians there was, as always, of the utmost value. As a source of material the Ministry appeared to be much less effective, though it was apparent that the change in political administration, taking place only six months prior to the field study, had contributed to this state of affairs. It was also plain that the new Ministry Planning Unit was in its infancy, though significant improvements were seen by the end of the study year.

With bureaucratic uncertainty and sectional interests at work in the Ministry, the resources of the Mona university campus and the assistance of individuals in the teaching profession were utilised for background material and principal aids, such as the Directories of Schools and several theses relevant to the broad perspectives of the present research, were used to produce abstracts. The local studies which had been developed for thesis purposes appeared to indicate that limited resources restricted the choice of schools and areas of the island utilised for research work. The problem which emerged was one of determining how to achieve the best spread of schools, so as to embrace not only rural, but

'remote rural' as well as urban schools. Within the university campus little first-hand knowledge was forthcoming on the remote regions - the predilection for urban life-style apparently extending to mental attitudes of some indifference to the state of distant rural affairs. The joint difficulties of choice and access to a range of schools in different parts of the island were finally resolved by the intervention of friends whose business carried them into most of the island parishes, and the ready assistance of the Jamaica Schools Library Service. Forty-nine schools were seen in eleven of the fourteen parishes of the island, though only four of these could be termed 'remote rural', despite the valuable assistance given.

The theses of in-service teacher/students at the School of Education gave many insights into the feasibility of constructing a profile of schools. One such, (Gascoigne - 1970), provided a ready-made research design to inquire into the availability of fifteen teaching or equipment resources, considered relevant to Jamaican schools. Apart from these guide lines, a check list (App'x I) was devised to ascertain a range of variables in school provision. The items ranged from accommodation and attendance to staff provision and qualification. They also included types of room allocation for teaching or ancillary purposes and the range and type of subjects offered, as well as listing the examinations used by the schools. School space was assessed, and assembly or playing areas were itemised, as were the existence of school clubs or societies and 'other facilities'. For example, at one school there existed one 'Ministry' piano, while "tuck-shop" funds provided for a percussion band, a film strip projector, a typewriter and a school intercommunication system.

Most notable among the many pleasurable aspects of field study was the readiness of teachers, principals and other interested individuals to assist in the work. However time-consuming the inquiry, help was never withheld and it seems proper to note that records which involved the scrutiny of class or stream sizes, and two year-old attendance records were almost always produced with a minimum of delay. As indicated elsewhere in the research, an attempt was made to collate material on factors affecting pupils' progress as well as on features

which had adverse effects upon the school population. It was fortunate that the Jamaica Teachers' Association had conducted their own survey into conditions in primary and all-age schools as late as 1969, as this gave several indications of critical areas.

Where source materials relevant to particular facets of the study were difficult to unearth on the Mona campus, alternative sources such as the Jamaica Institute were utilised, or summaries of evidence were taken from the media, notably the island newspaper, The Daily Gleaner. Towards the end of the field study, the Ministry of Education Planning Unit was more forthcoming, and the compilation of material from their inquiries into the state of affairs in the educational system, either by copying, or by their offer of official papers, enabled the assembly of a more comprehensive body of background sources.

This routine development of the collection of substantive or supporting material paid high dividends in the collating phase of the research, providing much data for the many hypotheses subsumed under the broad research perspective, such as differentials affecting educability based upon social class, family patterns, occupational status, urban or rural location, ethnic consciousness, and the practice of schools in determining, or following, choice in subject areas within the school curricula.

The individual nature of the research project imposed its own limitations. It was not feasible to attempt more than a study of the school-age population and its disposition within the school educational system. Thus, certain areas were deliberately excluded from the field study, such as the infrastructure of the youth camps, the work of the Ministry of Youth and Community Development, and also the specific area of teacher education in the island teachers' colleges. The area of higher education, embodied in the University of the West Indies, the College of Arts, Science and Technology and the Jamaica School of Agriculture, was also impossible to pursue at a level of some rigour.

Within the schools, the study of curriculum content was omitted, on the grounds that an inquiry of any substance was beyond the resources of this research - indeed, the degree of organisation involved in the new administra-

tion's "Curriculum Development Thrust", not to mention the conference on "Vocational Training in Jamaica - 1972" appeared to confirm this beyond dispute. By the same token, there was an avoidance of research into language patterns, based upon the interference factor of the island patois in pupil learning. In any case it was felt that a considerable body of research had already been built up on this basis - possibly to the detriment of the attention due to the social and cultural factors with which this research is primarily concerned.

It is recognised that, in maintaining a research plan which aims to embrace all sectors of school-age educational provision, study in depth must be sacrificed, relatively, in favour of a wide perspective. At a number of points in the study, several areas appear to offer themselves as worthwhile issues for further investigation: inquiry into differentials in school provision and facilities as between regions, or between urban and rural locations, or inquiry into subject choice, or subject groupings. It seems feasible to suggest that high potential may be developed as effectively through practical and technical subjects as by the traditional short-list of preferred academic study areas. Data on high attainment levels disclosed in the research would surely assist in the formulation of policy decisions based on curriculum change. Attention to the larger sectors of primary and all-age schools, hitherto the 'Cinderellas' of the system, would allow the administration to develop closer recognition of the qualitative and quantitative results which still emerge from schools working under extremely adverse conditions.

CHAPTER ONE

DEMOGRAPHIC AND SOCIAL BACKGROUND.

Population, urban - rural.

The 1943 Census showed that out of a total population of 1,237,063, the greater part, 1,013,000 were resident in rural Jamaica. (1) Together with the thirty per cent increase between 1943 and 1960, (2) to a population of 1,609,814 persons there was an accompanying pattern of considerable urban drift. This confirmed the evidence from the regional survey of 1955 (3) which disclosed a town population of 400,000 out of an estimated island total of 1.55 million. Francis, basing his assessment of urban status as any built up locality of more than 2,000 persons, or having social amenities such as church, post office and police station, recorded urban population figures of 520,496. (4) The 1970 Census figure of 1,861,000 represented an increase of 15.6 per cent over the corresponding census count of 1960, (5) but these figures were clouded by a non-response rate of 1.9 per cent. Urban estimates, for main Parish capitals only, were shown in the preliminary report but in the subsequent analysis (6) urban population was given as 750,951 out of a revised island total of 1,813,598. The 'Corporate Area' alone (Kingston and urban St. Andrew parish) accounted for 475,548 of this number.

Age and Sex.

The age distribution of the population gives rise to concern in terms of "minor dependents". Francis (7) stated that

"while in 1943, children under 10 years of age comprised 25 per cent of the total population, in 1960, children under 10 accounted for 30 per cent of the population.

The age group 'under 5 years' has shown the highest percentage increase with 71 per cent more children..... than at the time of the 1943 Census.

And,

- (1) Clarke, E. My Mother who fathered me. 1957. Foreword p. 12.
- (2) Francis, O.C. The People of Modern Jamaica. 1963. Chap 1. 1 - 4.
- (3) Smith, M.G. West Indian Family Structure. 1962. Chap 5. p 125.
- (4) Francis, O.C. Op.cit. Tab. 1.4.
- (5) Population Census 1970. Preliminary Report. Department of Statistics, Kingston.
- (6) Statistical Abstract 1972. Dept. of Statistics, Kingston, 1973. Tab 6. 1970.
- (7) Francis, O.C. Op.cit. Chap.1. p 11.

"The comparatively small increase of the middle age groups, 20 - 44, could probably be associated with the fact that it is these age groups which supply the bulk of migrants."

For the purpose of a study of the educational system a more appropriate analysis is that of the 1970 Preliminary Report ⁽¹⁾ wherein the proportion of population under 14 years of age is given as 44.6 per cent. A detailed age breakdown was not available at that time but the Statistical Abstract of 1973 gave the following data, ⁽²⁾

TABLE I
Population by Age Groups to Age 14.

Under 2 years	2 - 4 years	5 - 9 years	10 - 14 years
102,059	185,047	300,893	244,111

while a graphic representation of this age distribution in the island total is shown for the period under review in Figure I.

On a regional basis, differentiating only on the basis of corporate area and extra-metropolitan parishes, the following variations in the proportion of pre-school plus school-age cohorts were observable.

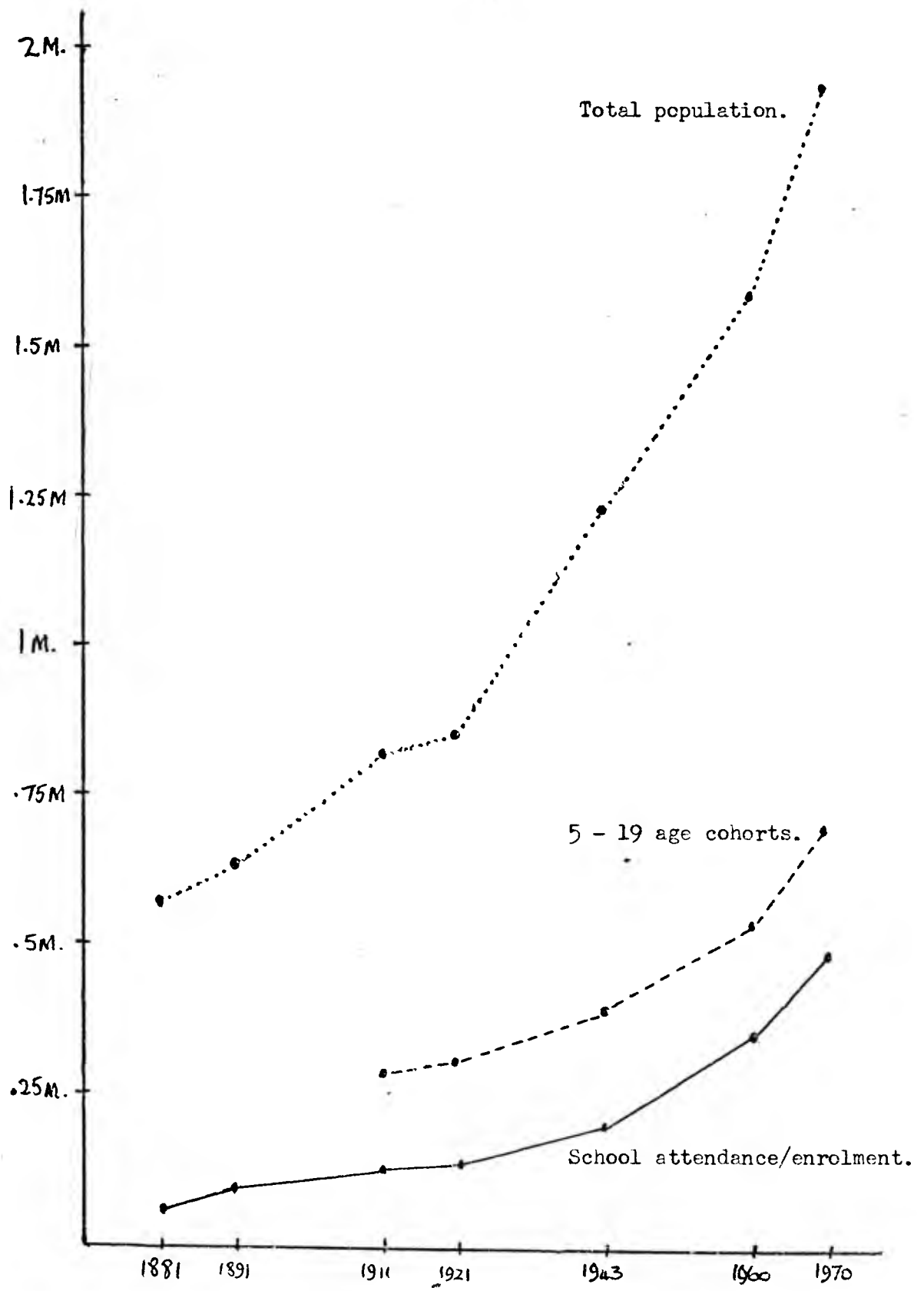
TABLE II
0 - 14 Age cohorts as % of Parish populations.

Corporate Area	41.3
St. Thomas	46.6
Portland	46.5
St. Maria	47.0
St. Ann	48.1
Trelawny	48.1
St. James	46.0
Hanover	48.8
Westmoreland	40.1
St. Elizabeth	47.8
Manchester	46.9
Clarendon	48.5
St. Catherine	47.6

(1) Preliminary Report, Op.cit. p. 4.

(2) Statistical Abstract, Op.cit. Abstract from Tab. 5.

FIGURE I Population growth; 5 - 19 age cohorts and school attendance.



(1)

The variable disposition of these age groups is commented upon by Smith in his chapter on Kingston;

"low incidence of children under 14 may be due to many women sending some of their children to kinfolk in the country, or leaving them there when they come to town themselves."

(2)

Sex differentials are shown by abstracting material from Francis and the Statistical Abstract.

(3)

TABLE III

Population Classified by 5 year age groups and Sex - to Age 19.

5 Year Age Groups	1943.			1960.			1972.		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
0 - 4	78,300	78,065	156,365	134,954	132,937	267,891	144,679	142,427	287,106
5 - 9	78,225	77,854	156,079	110,922	109,774	220,696	151,092	149,801	300,893
10 - 14	70,340	69,502	139,842	86,740	87,181	173,921	122,755	121,356	244,111
15 - 19	55,060	60,968	116,028	68,372	76,436	144,808	81,176	84,692	165,868

The broad-based pyramid effect is normal given the expected mortality rates in years succeeding birth, although it may be inferred that the differential between the sexes which is reversed between the first age cohort and the last is effected by migratory trends. In the age range 0 - 4 the percentage of females in the total is 49.9, 49.6 and 49.6 respectively, while in the 15 - 19 age range it is 52.5, 53.4 and 51.0 respectively. The closing of this gap over the last decade may be due to obstacles placed in the path of intending migrants. With the 1960 figures in mind contributory evidence to support the theory of migratory influences is found in Smith. Comparison between his 1955 rural/urban sample population showed that the proportion of females varied from 49.9 to 57.7 per cent.

"Probably the movement of country women into town is of greater significance, despite considerable male emigration to Britain since 1953."

(1) Smith, M.G. Op.cit. p. 164.

(2) Francis, O.C. Op.cit. Tab. 1.6.

(3) Statistical Abstract. Op.cit. Tab. 5.

(4) Smith, M.G. Op.cit. p. 126

(5) Ibid. p. 164.

using.

As to the accommodation in which these families exist the most comprehensive analysis is obtained by examination of the Statistical Abstract⁽¹⁾

TABLE IV

Dwellings Classified by Number of Rooms - Census 1970

Parish	Total dwellings.	Number of rooms							7 and over	Not stated
		1	2	3	4	5	6			
All parishes.	420,159	137,512	110,365	67,614	35,627	22,385	11,740	10,764	24,152	
Kingston	31,198	17,822	6,037	2,625	1,322	667	358	345	2,022	
St. Andrew	99,263	37,731	18,600	12,216	8,540	7,000	4,128	4,077	6,971	
St. Thomas	18,670	5,986	6,325	2,999	1,274	580	270	171	1,065	
Portland	16,407	4,044	5,497	2,978	1,433	842	391	290	932	
St. Mary	23,690	7,149	6,994	4,464	1,889	1,146	491	416	1,141	
St. Ann	24,321	5,284	6,574	4,915	2,661	1,585	847	1,018	1,437	
Trelawny	14,006	4,165	4,044	2,616	1,110	605	320	279	867	
St. James	23,858	7,758	6,004	4,454	2,258	1,200	632	620	932	
Hanover	12,983	2,092	4,728	2,555	1,511	739	354	262	742	
Westmoreland	25,498	4,880	9,183	4,674	2,911	1,484	647	406	1,313	
St. Elizabeth	25,280	5,365	7,887	5,404	2,746	1,430	629	507	1,312	
Manchester	24,766	5,268	6,760	4,738	2,674	1,843	1,122	1,079	1,282	
Clarendon	38,288	13,704	11,024	6,024	2,465	1,621	835	615	2,000	
St. Catherine	41,931	16,264	10,708	6,952	2,833	1,643	716	679	2,136	

In the island total the construction⁽²⁾ of houses varied from wood or concrete or wattle or "other", which, in areas such as "shanty towns" in many urban areas comprised cartons, sheets of iron or car bodies. Wood and concrete comprise 37% and 3% of all housing while wattle/adobe comprise 4% and "other" under one per cent. This compares favourably with 1943 and 1960 during which period (Francis)⁽³⁾ wood declined from 49.3 to 40.4 while concrete structures increased from 3.8 to 28.6%. Wattle declined from 13.7 to 12.0% and "other" from 26.3 to 16.8%.

1) Statistical Abstract. Op. cit. Tab. 89.

2) Ibid Table 90

3) Francis, O.C. Op. cit. Tab. 6.6.

Services, such as water supply showed similar patterns of progression from 1943 onwards. Piped supply into dwelling or yard increased from 26.1% to 37% and 41% respectively. Supply by catchment area, notably in rural parishes St. Ann, St. Elizabeth and Manchester declined from 6.3% in 1943 and 7.2% in 1960 to 1.2% in 1970, although in the parishes noted the 1970 supply so obtained was still of the order of over 30% in St. Ann and St. Elizabeth and close to 38% in Manchester.

Land.

Stress was laid on the low proportion of cultivable land in the region. Only Barbados had a potential of agricultural land of the order of 77 per cent, comparing (1) favourably with 70 per cent in the Netherlands and 80 per cent in Italy. Jamaica's varied topography meant that only about 35 per cent of its land was suitable for agriculture which, together with historical and economic patterns of land useage resulted in the 1955 calculation that

"the average area of agricultural land per head of population was 0.7 acres for Jamaica.... as compared with 0.9 in the United Kingdom which has so high a proportion of its labour force in non-agricultural occupations; 6.7 acres per head in the U.S.A., and 1 in India." (2)

This feature merited comparison in the well recognised practice of showing distribution of land by farms and farm size. One such table is drawn from Mau (3) using figures given in the Government's Five Year Independence Plan 1963 - 1968.

TABLE V

Percentage distribution of Farms by Size and
Acreage in each size group. 1954 and 1961.

Size	1954		1961	
	Per cent of farms	Per cent of Acreage	Per cent of farms	Per cent of Acreage
500 or more acres	0.2	40.0	0.2	45.3
100 - 500 acres	0.5	11.4	0.5	10.6
25 - 99 acres	2.4	10.8	2.4	9.4
5 - 24 acres	23.7	23.9	25.6	22.9
0 - 4 acres	73.2	13.9	71.3	11.8

(1) Harewood, J. 'Overpopulation and Underemployment in the West Indies.' in - International Labour Review. Vol 82 No 2 August 1960. p 106

(2) Ibid.

(3) Mau, J.A. Social change and Images of the future. Schenkman. 1968. p 25.

A later inquiry showed in more detail how much change had taken place since
(1)
this situation was drawn by Clarke from 1943 Census figures:

"The total number of farms, ranging from 1 - 1000 acres and over was 66,173. Over 97 per cent of them were under 50 acres, the largest number being between 4 and 10 acres. In addition there were 146,515 holdings of under one acre."

Mau's conclusion based on the 1954 - 1961 comparison was that of an increasing amalgamation of farm holdings. The analysis made in the 1968 Survey of Agriculture
(2)
seemed to confirm this trend.

TABLE VI

Number and size of farms - 1968.

Size Group - in acres	Per cent Number of all farms		Per cent Acres of all acres		Average size of farms (acres)
Under 5	144,604	78.0	223,818	14.9	1.5
5 - 25	36,881	19.9	333,548	22.1	9.0
25 - 100	3,004	1.6	125,104	8.3	4.6
100 - 500	699	0.4	148,501	9.9	212.4
Over 500	295	0.2	676,426	44.9	2,293.0
	185,483	100.0	1,507,397	100.0	8.1

(Totals do not equal sum of parts because of rounding.)

Crops.

The rural Jamaican still measures his land in roods as often as acres and is vulnerable to the market forces of the cash crop economy. Major crops, sugar, citrus, coconut and bananas are grown as a plantation crop mostly in the coastal=plateaux or in the coastal hills of eastern and north central Jamaica. Mixed farming areas occupy most of the central uplands where soil and climate permit:

"Virtually all the mixed farming activity takes place on small individually owned farms. Mixed farming refers mostly to cultivation of a great variety of food crops including yams, sweet potatoes, irish potatoes, corn, pumpkin, peas, cassava and other vegetables, tree crops such as ackees, avocados, mangoes, guavas and pawpaws, as well as small fields of export crops such as sugar cane and bananas." (3)

(1) Clarke, E. Op.cit. Foreword, pp 12-13.

(2) National Atlas of Jamaica. Ministry of Finance & Planning, Kingston 1971 p.32.

(3) Ibid. p 28.

A significant feature of this analysis is that the small farmer relies on the local market for his cash return.

Socio-economic factors, G.D.P., income and occupation.

Some basic information on the economics of Jamaican families seems appropriate both in local and comparative terms. Harewood compared Gross Domestic Product at factor cost per head of population as,

(1)
"low in the West Indies as compared with the United Kingdom... and North America... The figure for Jamaica was \$ 490, compared with \$ 3,430 in the U.S.A., \$ 2,800 in Canada and \$ 1,680 in the United Kingdom."

Acknowledging that information was not available for classifying the whole of the Jamaican labour force into high and low-earning sectors, Harewood also utilised figures from the 1953 Survey:

"18.6 per cent of wage earners had an income of under \$ 124 per year; 27.2 per cent had an income of between \$ 124 and \$ 237 per year and 26.3 per cent had an income of between \$ 237 and \$ 487 per year. Thus nearly three-quarters of all wage earners received less than \$ 41 per month." (2)

(3)

Smith and Evans work contributed to a paper based on research among school pupils in rural, sugar plantation and 'open country' districts, i.e., a sample of 'peasant' population comprising 2,050 boys and 2,850 girls, aged 10-16. In a summary of hours worked and pay expectations it was disclosed that 70 per cent of the young men (15-39) were willing to work for 38 - 54 hours at wages of less than £ 3 (US \$ 8.40) per week.

"Such levels of demand may seem depressingly low yet many employers in these rural areas would consider requests for 40/- outrageous and would scoff at a work week of less than 50 hours."

Of the women in the same research, two thirds would accept wages of less than 30/- (US \$ 4.20) per week.

(4)

Cumper estimated that 57 per cent of all households in Jamaica, in 1958, had incomes of less than £ 300 per annum.

(1) Harewood, J. Op.cit. p. 104.

(2) Ibid. p. 118

(3) Smith, M.G. 'Education and Occupational Choice in Jamaica' in Social and Economic Studies. Vol 9. No 3. 1960.

(4) Cumper, G. Institute of Social and Economic Research, Estimate. 1962.

Few alternatives to traditional patterns existed as regards employment.

Mau commented in the following manner on occupational distribution of male heads of households who were wage earners in 1960.⁽¹⁾

TABLE VII

Distribution by Classified Occupation.

Professions.	0.6	per cent.
Managers and Officials.	6.7	" "
Clerical and Sales.	6.8	" "
Skilled Manual and Service.	23.6	" "
Unskilled Manual & Service.	62.2	" "

(Number: 258,220) 99.9 " "

When differentiated on the basis of Smith's 'plural framework' the cleavage between the white upper class and the black lower classes was shown as material⁽²⁾
⁽³⁾
 "re-computed from the 1943 Census"

TABLE VIII

Colour distribution of Male Wage Earners by Occupational Classification.

Occupational Classification	Black	Brown	White	No. of cases
Managers and Officials	12.9%	46.9%	40.2%	1,265
Professions	45.8%	38.1%	16.1%	2,131
Clerical and Sales	38.5%	53.5%	8.0%	8,852
Skilled: manual and service	73.7%	24.8%	1.5%	34,386
Unskilled: manual and service	88.6%	11.1%	0.3%	149,640

"One of the striking features in the foregoing table is the relatively high proportion of professionals who are black. This is perhaps most clearly interpreted as a commentary on the importance of education in structuring opportunities for social mobility in Jamaica."

A feature equally compelling is that the figures related to under 200,000 of the male labour force of 321,637 in the 1943 Census⁽⁴⁾ and offered no information at all on the 183,455 members of the female labour force. Male classifiable labour rose, between 1943 and 1960, by 60,021 an increase of 19%, whereas female labour rose in number by 41,710, an increase of 23%. Main features of change in labour

(1) Mau, J.A. Op.cit. p 27.

(2) Smith, M.G. 'The Plural Framework of Jamaican Society.' in the British Journal of Sociology. Vol XII. 1961. pp. 249-262.

(3) Ibid.

(4) Francis, O.C. Op.cit. Tab. 7.1.

force participation in the period were:

- (a) decline in the relative importance of agriculture.
- (b) gains made by mining, manufacturing, construction and commerce, and
- (c) a percentage decline in the contribution of personal service.

How this affected the relative positions of industrial groups and male/female
(1)
labour was shown by Francis and the National Atlas.

TABLE IX

Percentage distribution of classifiable labour
force by Industry groups and Sex. 1943 - 1960.

Industry Groups	Percentage Distribution					
	Males		Females		Totals only(2)	
	1943	1960	1943	1960	1943	1960
Agriculture	54.8	50.0	24.6	17.5	43.8	37.9
Forestry & Fishing	2.1	1.7	0.0+	0.1	1.3	1.1
Mining & Quarrying	0.0+	1.0	0.2	0.3	0.1	0.7
Manufacturing	10.5	12.0	13.8	19.5	11.7	14.8
Construction	9.5	12.7	1.9	0.5	6.8	8.2
Electricity, Water	0.4	0.8	0.1	0.1	0.3	0.5
Commerce	5.2	6.8	12.4	15.3	7.8	9.9
Transport & Communication	3.4	4.5	0.3	1.0	2.3	3.2
Personal Service	3.3	3.7	38.6	32.9	16.1	14.5
Other Services	3.9	5.9	4.6	9.9	4.2	7.4
Unspecified, ill defined	6.9	0.9	3.5	3.1	5.6	1.8
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

+ Less than 0.1%

The Polity.

A further issue which has bedevilled the lot of the rural Jamaican began with thoughts of mass participation in the early throes of self government and, subsequently Independence.

"The active plan to release Jamaica from the yoke of colonial bondage into a world of freedom and creative potential" (3)

sounded fine on the hustings and did in fact lead to the establishment of local political influence and administration, yet the true nature of both factors should not be allowed to appear solely as signals of responsibility and patriotism. Characteristics of this nature, essential though they may be to the interests of emergent societies, were obscured before, during and after Independence by the chiaroscuro of the Jamaican Political scene. As Nettleford points out "rhetoric

(1) Ibid. Tab. 7.2 (Abstract)

(2) National Atlas. Op.cit. p 28, Abstract from Tab. 5.

(3) Nettleford, R. (Ed) Manley and the New Jamaica. Longman 1971. Intro p xi.

is a commonplace among the traditions of the Jamaican people" but without attempting an extensive study, the political implications of the island two party system deserve comment on the ground that it is the masses who stand subject to manipulation from above. As this is not intended as a political treatise two names will suffice to illustrate the points which are to be made, and in terms of Jamaican history what names they are ! The native politics of the island grew out of labour movements in the trade unions which in turn were nurtured on the discontent of the labouring classes. From the ambivalences of the old Assembly which, in the last quarter of the Nineteenth Century, was instrumental in the retrogression to Crown Colony government, (1) to the Legislative Council of the Twentieth Century which was dominated, still, by the 'plantocracy' the lot of the Black masses was consistent in its degrees of wretchedness. The 'alleged' riots in Frome, in 1938, brought Alexander Bustamente to the fore as the champion of the oppressed. His speedy incarceration by Governor Richards in 1940 resulted in the entry of Norman Washington Manley onto the political stage.

A brief comment needs to be made on the nature of the island political parties. Both leaders had organised labour as their springboard. During the period just discussed Bustamente was the founder of the Trade Union bearing his name - the Bustamente Industrial Trade Union (B.I.T.U.).

"Manley, a member of the Trade Union Congress, and an important mediator in the many crises of that period had recently launched the People's National Party (P.N.P.)." (2)

Bustamente, on his release from detention, split with Manley and the P.N.P., and prior to the 1944 elections founded the Jamaica Labour Party (J.L.P.). The P.N.P. organised a labour wing, following electoral defeats both in 1944 and 1949, in the form of the National Workers Union (N.W.U.). Thus both parties owed their popular support to the allegiance of workers in one or other trade union, but in such an economy as existed this did not ensure financial backing from the mass of their supporters. Both sought, and were given this by influential land-owning, commercial and industrial sections of the community. It is also worthy of note that the current (1973) leaders of the two parties have served their time with organised labour.

(1) Black, C. The story of Jamaica. Collins. 1965. p. 183.

(2) Mau, J.A. Op.cit. p. 7.

This relationship between party goals and the aspirations of the masses accounts in large measure for ensuing rivalries and also for the continuing problems which have acted as brakes upon progress toward economic as well as political Independence. The rivalries were between the claim on allegiance of Statesmen or Charismat. Manley,

"was never expected or allowed to be flippant. Many demanded from him consistency in excellence of performance." (1)

Nettleford also stresses his gifts to the young nation of ideals and purpose as well as example of practical politics, of his belief that political activity depends on knowledge and understanding. Bustamente's opportunism is seen in the eye witness account, given to the author, of his scramble atop a freight wagon at Myers Wharf, Kingston, to declaim in his shrill voice to crowds of unemployed labourers and striking dock workers "You need a leader. I will lead you."

Personalities apart, the process of gaining popular support was doomed to a life of expediency. The politics of expectation and aspiration have clouded the issue for more than the cohorts of workers. As subsequent sections will attempt to show, the ambitions of adolescents are subject to the politics of excitation.

Not only politicians offer exhortations and promises in return for votes. The rival trade unions are engaged in incessant combat too. During the period of field work the author's attention was drawn to union elections which comprised the presentation of competing, and escalating, demands upon the economy. This underlines the invidious position which is the lot of either political party. To engineer the downfall of the reigning party the trade union with opposition alignment has only to effect industrial discord sufficient to make stable government unlikely, while at the same time the labour wing of the ruling party must engage in the same tactic to maintain viable support, thus creating an identical effect upon its own political figureheads.

(1) Nettleford, R. (Ed). Op.cit. p. xii

Family patterns.

As to the familial groups upon which these demographic factors reacted, much has been written in which the consistent factor to emerge has been a degree of instability in Western European terms. Many accounts give as the reason for this feature the legacy of slavery during the early centuries of island populations.

(1)

Francis classifies family unions under the headings "conjugal condition", 1943, and "Union status", 1960. Since these statistics are more relevant to the condition of present family patterns than are the details to be found in the Abstract from the 1970 Census they are to form the basis of assessment of the status of parents of today's school-age population. Proportionate figures from The 'People of Modern

(2)

Jamaica' are as follows:

TABLE X

Percentage distribution of Females 15 and over by
Conjugal Condition and Union Status, 1943 - 1960.

	<u>1943</u>	<u>1960</u>
Single (Never lived with partner)	56.3	53.1
Widowed or no longer living with Divorced husband or Common-law partner.		
Married (Living with husband)	26.3	26.3
Common Law (Living with common-law spouse)	17.4	18.8
Not specified.	—	1.8

The first group is too heterogeneous to discuss with any hope of precision, while the second shows regional variations in that marital status dropped as low, in 1960, as 20.5, 21.8 and 21.9 in Kingston, St. Thomas and St. Catherine and rose to values of 32.6 and 31.4 per cent in St. Ann and Manchester.

(3)

Smith comments on 'the preponderance of the illegitimate issue of kinswomen among (rural Jamaican) residential collaterals', giving further analysis in the terms

"Men have many illegitimate children of their consensual or extra-residential unions living with them in their homes. They are not as willing to accommodate their sons' children as their daughters'; they freely accommodate their daughter's illegitimate offspring, only rarely their daughter's lawful children.

(1) Francis, O.C. Op.cit. p 5-2.

(2) Ibid. Tab. 5.5

(3) Smith, M.G. Op.cit. p. 138.

Also

"in rural Jamaica... and Kingston... the system of mating relations include three alternative forms, namely marriage, extra-residential mating and consensual cohabitation." (1)

No facile generalisation can be applied in order to characterise family patterns over the whole Jamaican society but mating would appear to fall into two main styles, not necessarily exclusive of each other. One is the pattern characterised partly by male irresponsibility and partly by female vulnerability to fear of not having a man or even, as was recounted on a number of occasions in the survey, of not being 'complete' unless proven to be fertile. This type of union is classified variously as extra-residential cohabitation, or 'denuded family'. The second is the style of relationship most closely linked to the formal union. Thus 'faithful concubinage', 'companionate union' or 'keeper family', and common law unions may stabilise, especially once the period of sexual experimentation has passed, and the partners may then either live in the style of marriage or achieve this status formally. In either set of events, Smith maintains that monogamous relationships are nearer to the norm and the tendency appears to be strengthened by the growth of the 'emerging middle' class.

Social Class.

Miller recognises "plural" society but argues that in addition to Smith's White, Brown and Black sections there is an emerging Brown stratum, (the "Brown" middle class owe their place to tradition). Its history goes back into the 19th century, its behavioural characteristics are based more on the group above than the group below, it has become more heterogeneous, more multi-ethnic than any other stratum, partly as a result of the upward social mobility of the Chinese minority since the 19th century, and partly by similar achievements on the part of Indian and some Black entrepreneurs.

The "emerging middle" stratum, as Miller puts it, is recent history:

"It is the stratum of the truck driver, tractor driver, mechanic, taxi operator, the welder, the electrician, the ex-farm worker and the Chinese own-account operator of a

(1) Ibid.

(2) Ibid.

(3) Henriques, F. Family and Colour in Jamaica. McGibbon & Kee. 1968.

(4) Smith, M.G. Op.cit. p 198-201

(5) Miller, E.L. (1971) 'Education & Society in Jamaica'. in Savacou No 5. p 52.

"small establishment. To a large extent this is the artisan class..... which has emerged because of

- (1) migration of Black Jamaicans for economic reasons and their subsequent return and re-settlement,
- (2) industrialisation with its attendant creation of new niches in the labour force,
- (3) urbanisation, where this has been synonymous with modernisation." (1)

In terms of income this stratum overlaps a great deal with the traditional middle, as is common with developed as well as developing economies, but two significant features should be added from Miller's analysis. One is that the new stratum is almost completely urban, and the tendency to urban drift noted earlier reinforces the economic and social implications of this factor. Secondly, the characteristics associated with a life-style tending to move away from that of the lowest stratum are suggested by a model construct:

"Social Continuums in Jamaican Society."

Urban - White	Rural - Black
Wealthy	Poor
Profession, proprietor	Unskilled, unemployed, casual labour
Educated	Illiterate
'Standard English' speaking	Creole speaking dialect
Reputable Church	Revivalist cult
Patriarchal family	Matriarchal family
Aquatic sport/Golf	Dominoes/draughts
Moralistic values	Pragmatic values

The argument is that the inconsistencies within Smith's relatively fixed groupings may well be considered under a "speculative idea" of continuums along which individuals may be differentiated.

The terms of reference of Miller's earlier study did not allow him to establish this empirically but in Savacou he posits "three fairly plausible alternatives" to show movement between strata, or inter-relationships:

- (1) Ibid.
- (2) Miller, E.L. A study of self-concept and its relationships to certain physical, social, cognitive and adjustment variables in a selected group of Jamaican school girls. Ph.D. Thesis. Kingston, 1969. p 87.
- (3) Miller, E.L. (1971). Op. cit. p. 53.

- "1. The Society could be conceived as still being plural with the Upper and Traditional Middle being two classes of one section and the Emergent Middle and Lower classes of the second.
2. The Society could be conceived as still being plural with the Upper, Traditional Middle and Emergent Middle forming three classes of one section while the Lower stratum remains a section by itself.
3. The Society could be conceived as being heterogeneous. That is, all four strata constituting four social classes in the society. Although each class practises a peculiar set of institutional systems all share a sufficient number of common institutions to be regarded as being integrally related to each other." (1)

At the same time the point is established, it needs no elaboration, that the Lower stratum, mainly rural and practising a material culture "that appears to be a product of African ancestry and Caribbean slavery" is the largest single stratum - larger than all the others combined. This has inescapable consequences upon the issue of educational aspiration and equality, or inequality, of opportunity.

The adolescent in Jamaican society.

The social and cultural contexts within which the Jamaican adolescent develops are worthy of comment before a more detailed assessment of educational opportunity and provision is attempted.

(2)

Cohen differentiates between adolescence as a biological and physiological stage of maturation and adolescence as a sociological and cultural phenomenon. In his paper he discusses the assimilation of role by Rocky Roads adolescents in Jamaican hill farming regions as a result of study in the early 1950's. Extrapolation of his material for the purpose of this survey must be based upon the following assumptions:

1. The onset of adolescence is assumed to coincide with school leaving at the age of 14. 'In truth and in fact' many rural youngsters leave school earlier as a result of the disincentives within the educational system, and in any case the process of maturation noted above commences at an age commensurate with the usual norms for adolescence.

(1) Ibid.

(2) Cohen, I.A. 'Adolescent conflict in a Jamaican community' Chap. 6 in Social Structure and Personality - a Casebook. Molt Rinehart & Winston. 1961.

2. Predominant among the values examined is the notion of a land based ethos,

'relinquishing a parcel of land.... is something no Rocky Roader will ever do'.

This value seems contentious in the light of subsequent acceleration of urban drift. Retention of land, even the acquisition of more land if this is feasible, is certainly the ethos of adult rural Jamaicans. What is being suggested here is that the young are being weaned away from the land and that the produce of the rural hill farms is being won by an ageing labour force.

However, the general characteristics of child rearing and social training appear to have validity in the regions in question where tradition exists hardly
(1)
in face of the alternative goals of urban life.

"The most significant learning which takes place during adolescence is of an economic nature.... a Rocky Roader learns that practically everything occupies a position subordinate to food and money."

The Jamaican boy spends time before and after school hours helping to cultivate his father's or the family land. Indeed this responsibility obtrudes for all youngsters into school attendance as will be shown later. Every son must give some of his time to the land. When given a portion of family land he must contribute towards his keep.

For girls the position is slightly different:

"The first important variation shows up in the cultural rule that while boys need not be supported after the age of fourteen, girls must be supported as long as they live at home.

The second important distinction is that the girl must seek permission for everything she wants to do.

The third difference is that girls do not have to contribute to their maintenance while living at home." (2)

"Not contribute" is used loosely here as the rural Jamaican girl is not, as Cohen goes on to point out, able to engage in a life of leisure, as may be the case for her urban, middle class counterpart. She is trained since early childhood in household labour and child-minding. She is under the absolute control of her mother, or grandmother as the syndrome has it, and despite the equally pressing necessity for the adolescent of either sex to make an economic offering to the family budget

(1) Ibid. p. 168.

(2) Ibid. p. 169.

she is obliged to account both for her time spent away from home and the activities she pursues. She may utilise the household skills she has learnt to gain employment in domestic service, or acquire skill in dress-making which is more prestigious than another country ~~womans~~' trade - that of 'higglering' or trading at the local or urban market places where farm produce is commonly sold.

Even in the instances where she engages in the urban drift noted elsewhere, she is liable to instant recall should her services be seen to be of more use at home, say to care for younger siblings, and is under a stronger cultural obligation to heed the call than is the young Jamaican male.

'The adolescent in the changing Caribbean'

One of the most firmly internalised values of the rural Black Jamaican is the association of class and status with wealth. They are fully aware of the plural system of social class but with the advent of the 'emergent middle class' together with the all pervasive impact of the sets of values characteristically portrayed by the advertising media traditional attitudes are put under stress. Cohen argued that the Rocky Roaders were not particularly pre-occupied with social class and its Jamaican concomitants, colour and occupation. During the period of Independence, indeed for the greater part of the time which has elapsed since his study, diversification of opportunity has been brandished for political, economic and social reasons, not to mention cultural or other purposes bound up with the notion of national identity. To say that this opportunity exists as a set of alternative goals is by no means the same thing as suggesting that these goals are generally attainable.

Nonetheless the degree of stability of the land and labour intensive economy of rural hill country in Jamaica, as drawn by Cohen, has undergone substantial change.

This is recognised by many sources, one variety being drawn together in the Third Caribbean Conference for Mental Health, held in 1961 at the University College of the West Indies in Jamaica.

(1)

(2)

In an opening address Braithwaite commented on an increase in the expectation of the masses, stemming from many causes:

"The experience of many people travelling abroad, of students, of persons in the armed forces, of farm labourers;

Another, the influence of cinemas, radio, the modern means of communication;

Third is the rise of trade unionism, the aid and encouragement given to the unions - sometimes Government sponsored..... international trade unions - establishing standards in wages."

In the rural areas of Jamaica adolescents are concerned with the lack of opportunity which is further enhanced by their limited education. Moyston, in the source noted stated that

(3)

"there was no social interaction between the parent, (guardian) or young person and there was no-one with whom the adolescent could discuss his future.

The relationship in the home is still one where the adolescent is treated as a child, although at 15 (or less) he or she was now being told to go out and earn a living - which they were ill-equipped to do both emotionally and at times physically."

(4)

Regional and social class variables were touched upon by Smith.

"the adolescent in the middle class has a different pattern of behaviour from the adolescent in the lower class, the ages of adolescence and the phases of adolescence, the problems and conditions which bear on this condition are completely different - a definition drawn from New York has no relevance here.....

you have to distinguish different types of society in the Caribbean.... the adolescent in Puerto Rico and the adolescent in Kingston represent adjustments to completely different socio-historical circumstances."

(1) 'The adolescent in the Changing Caribbean' the proceedings of the Third Caribbean Conference for Mental Health. Kingston. April 1961.

(2) Ibid. 'The changing social scene.' p. 18

(3) Ibid. 'Problems of the young adolescent.' p. 41.

(4) Ibid. 'Aimless, wandering adolescent groups.' p. 79.

Sexual behaviour, which has already been characterised as irresponsible,
 (1)
 was accorded a different connotation. Levy adduced a stress syndrome for the
 adolescent - not confined to the Caribbean.

"Among the causative factors are frustration of the creative instinct, consequent increase of sexual urges and thirdly bewilderment at the changes of values around him... This frustration causes the sexual urges to dominate and lead on to the various forms of anti-social behaviour which have become associated with the word 'teen-ager'. Bewilderment at social changes frequently arises from racial antagonism, or rampant nationalism which is really nationwide selfishness. The issues have been clouded for these youngsters at every turn."

Further physiological and socio-economic features of adolescence in Jamaica.

While the youth of the advantaged cohorts in Jamaican society appeared to have benefitted in the same way as British adolescents, in increased body weight
 (2)
 and height, the situation for lower-class black Jamaicans was markedly different. Subsequent sections on deprivation and disadvantage will seek to show that for both urban and rural lower classes, educational potential was retarded by low living standards, induced by poor nutrition and adverse conditions.

Living standards.

The effects of differences in living standards appeared to be perpetuated by differences in attitudes towards life-style, morality and employment. The middle and upper classes affected unreservedly the goals and norms of behaviour of advanced industrial societies, enjoying the material rewards of consumer-oriented metropolitan cultures. As Miller's (1971) model of Social Continuums sought to show, they were characterised by a patriarchal family system based on moralistic values and were likely to be members of 'reputable' churches. The lot of the poor rural, or urban, black Jamaicans was subject to the vagaries of the employment situation at the unskilled or casual level, or the effects of sustained unemployment, together with the effects of shanty, or low-cost housing accommoda-

(1) Ibid. 'The Doctor looks at the Adolescent.' P. 43.

(2) Tanner, J.M. Growth at Adolescence. Blackwell Scientific Publications. 1962.

tion. It was apparent at the time of the field study, that while the religion of the established churches was seen as being socially desirable, spiritual solace for rural and poor urban classes was still sought from revivalist cults, influenced as these were by the same messianic and charismatic qualities as had obtained in the political arena for over two generations. It should also be recognised that, with the great bulk of the age cohorts comprised not only of black Jamaicans, but of potential voters, the aspirations of adolescent youth were the object of assiduous attention from the island political parties. On an analysis of moral and family structure for the lower black strata, the evidence suggested long-standing influences of slave heritage. (Black 1965; Clarke 1966; Cohen 1961; Evans 1958, 1964; Francis 1963; Henriques 1968; Lowenthal 1970; Milner 1975; Miller 1969, 1971; Rubin 1967; Simey 1946; and Smith 1960, 1961, 1962.) These induced inhibiting attitudes towards the notion of stable marriage, creating problems for male and female adolescents in the culture.

Social Class and Occupational Choice.

For adolescents of both sexes in the upper and middle classes education and opportunity were synonymous, being effected either through the acquisition of administrative or professional status after full-time higher education, or through the self-recruiting tendencies by which the elites have maintained their positions. Miller's (1971) assertions rested on the assumption that the acquired values and aspirations of black adolescents and the emergent Middle classes were based on shared institutions common to the society. Here High school education was, and is, seen serving

"as a broker institution for the Black segments of the society in the same manner in which it did for the Brown segment in the nineteenth century." (1)
(2)

Plurality of the discontinuous pattern posited by Smith may be suggested by the homogeneity of the population in Government schools of the primary

(1) Miller, E.L. (1971). Op.cit. p. 56

(2) Smith, M.G. 'The plural framework of Jamaican society' in British Journal of Sociology. Vol XII. 1961.

and all-age sector though levels of public awareness appeared to have changed considerably by the 1970's. Levels of aspiration heightened by the politicisation of education as a mobilising factor at both macro and micro levels, by media influences conveying images of alternative life-styles across the island, and by the adoption of Black Power as a political rallying cry, have instilled in the rural and urban masses an urgent desire on the part of many to utilise the educational experience to practical advantage.

Educational provision and the myth of opportunity.

Despite the expansion of school places, government funded or with the assistance of International loans, during the first decade of Independence, a gap, albeit narrowing, still remained between the size of the appropriate year groups in the population and the size of school cohorts at these age-ranges. As the Ministry Committee for In-depth study of Primary Education preliminary report disclosed, the goal of Universal Primary Education had not been attained by 1973, nor had the effects of selectivity in the secondary sectors been ameliorated significantly:

"Enrolment in Government owned or aided schools
out of year groups in population.

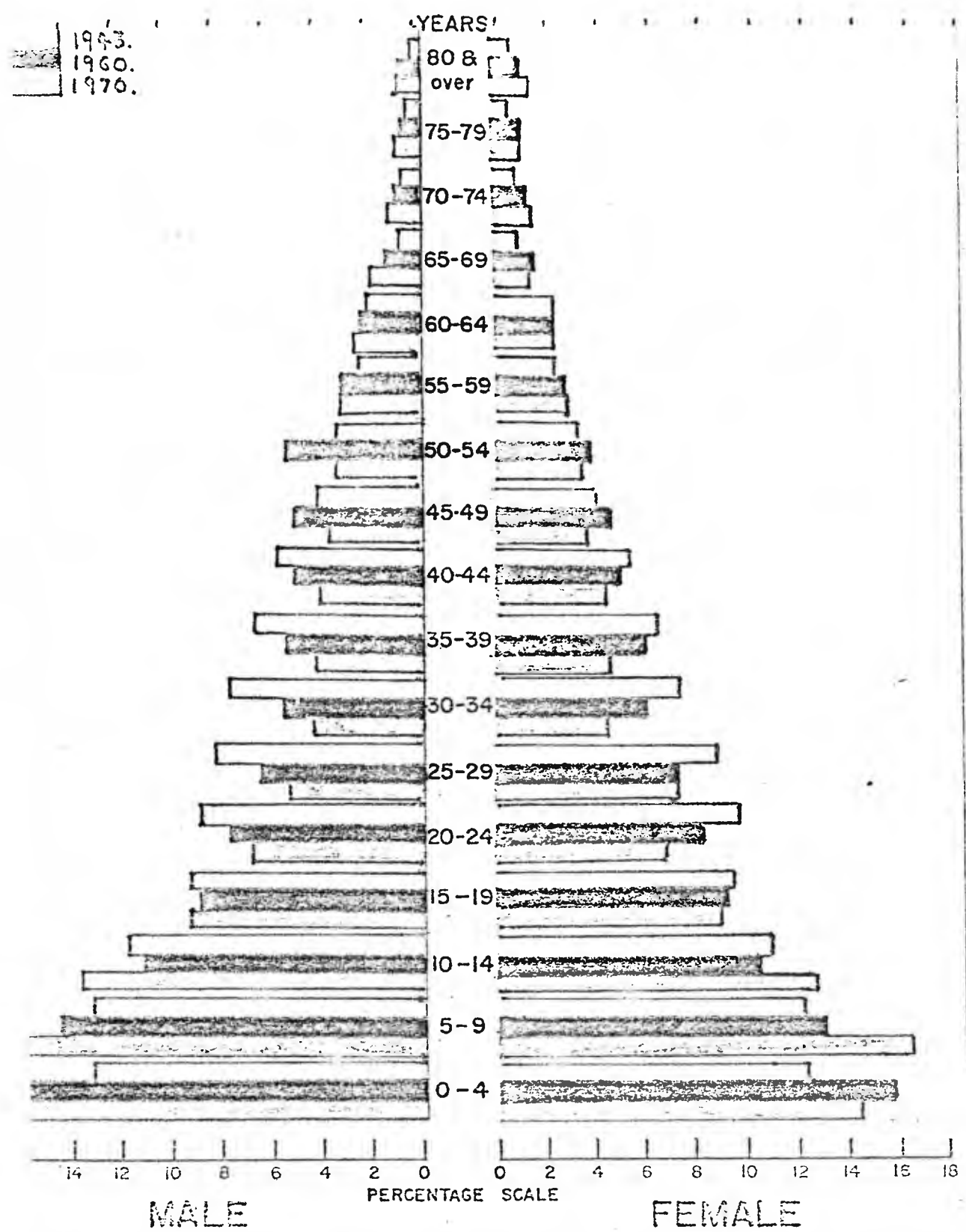
<u>Age groups</u>	<u>In school</u>	<u>Out of school</u>	<u>Total</u>
6 - 11	319,200	35,600	354,800
12 - 15	143,600	35,900	179,500
<u>16 - 18</u>	<u>27,900</u>	<u>92,100</u>	<u>120,000</u>
Totals	490,700	163,600	654,300." (1)

While recognising that part of the short-fall in school places was taken up by the preparatory schools, the Ministry Planning Unit had acknowledged for some time that further extensions of compulsory attendance in the Primary Grades 1 - 6 and the All-age Grades 7 - 9 could only be met by a more intensive use of school plant, such as shift systems or extension classes. A demographic feature compounding the problems of the Ministry was a heavy population growth, common in developing countries, demonstrated by the age pyramid (Figure II) and with which the P.R.E.A.L.C. Report on employment and unemployment in Jamaica concurred:

(1) In-depth study of Primary Education. Ministry Of Education Planning Unit.
1973.

FIGURE II

AGE PYRAMID - JAMAICA 1943 & 1960, 1970.



Devised from: The National Atlas of Jamaica, p 23,
and the Statistical Abstract, 1972. Table 5.

"Estimates show that in 1970, 46 percent of the population were under fifteen years of age, and 64 per cent under twenty-five. This means that the population was even younger than it had been in 1960, when persons under fourteen amounted to 41.7 per cent, and those under twenty-five, 58.3 per cent of the total." (1)

In common with most countries in the Caribbean region, indeed, with many of the 'developing' nations, the provision of school places at secondary level was limited. Even with the institution of technical and comprehensive education, opportunity for post primary education was restricted, relative to the population bulge working its way through a strained system. Miller's Savacou paper clearly enunciated a relationship between education and society in Jamaica;

"the manner and the measure in which the educational system enhances the life chances of some groups of individuals and inhibits those of other groups are consistent with the social stratification of the society." (2)

He further offered a qualitative examination of relationships between the
(3)
Private and Government agencies providing education, with the additional distinction within the first category of "Posh" and "Poor" private schools (namely, those charging high fees and catering for the higher social strata and those catering, generally through a Missionary influence, for the lower social strata), to cite only two of the latter, such as Catholic schools run by American nuns in Molyne's Road, and in Gordonstown.

- (1) Employment and unemployment in Jamaica. P.R.E.A.L.C., Pt II. p. 52.
- (2) Miller, E.L. Op.cit. p. 51.
- (3) Ibid.

SOCIAL STRATIFICATION AND THE EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM (Miller-1971)

(1)

Stages of the Educational System	SOCIAL STRATA			
	Upper	Traditional Middle	Emerging Middle	Lower
Early Childhood	Posh Private Preparatory	1. Posh Private Preparatory 2. Govt. Infant	1. Govt. Infant 2. Basic 3. Posh Private Preparatory	1. Basic 2. Govt. Infant
Primary	1. Posh Private Preparatory	1. Posh Private Preparatory 2. Govt. Primary	1. Govt. Primary 2. Posh Private Preparatory	Govt. Primary
Secondary	Posh Private Preparatory 2. Govt. Aided High	1. Govt. Aided High 2. Posh Private High 3. Private High 4. Jr. Secondary 5. All Age	1. Junior Sec. 2. All Age 3. Govt. High 4. Private High 5. Vocational	1. All Age 2. Jr. Secondary 3. Vocational 4. Govt. High
Further	1. College or University 2. U.W.I.	1. U.W.I. 2. College or Univ. abroad 3. CAST 4. JSA 5. Teachers' College 6. Theological College	1. U.W.I. 2. CAST 3. JSA 4. Teachers' College 5. Theological College 6. Univ. abroad	1. U.W.I. 2. CAST 3. JSA 4. Teachers' College 5. Theological College

2 It must be emphasized that the label "Posh" does not refer so much to the quality of the physical facilities of these schools as to the fact that they charge high fees and cater to the higher social strata.

Douglas Manley, at the time of transition to Independence, conducted an inquiry into mental ability, which revealed some of the outcomes of social class environment as they affected the results of the entrance examination, and also some of the ways in which privilege within the society was reinforced - even through the use of an instrument designed to bring about equality of opportunity. Some of his observations were starkly simple:

"It is estimated that approximately twenty-five per cent of those who are eligible, by age, to sit, actually do so."⁽³⁾

Others indicated, in a detailed manner, the positive advantages which high status conferred on candidates, as well as regional differences.

- (1) Ibid. p 55.
- (2) Manley, D.R. "Mental ability in Jamaica" in Social and Economic Studies. Vol 12 No. 1., March 1963.
- (3) Ibid. p 52.

"Common Entrance Examination: Percentage of entry from each type of school, and of all free places.

Type of school	% of entry	% of all free places.
Urban High.	5.2	18.0
Rural High.	4.2	10.6
Urban Private.	7.1	13.0
Rural Private.	2.4	3.7
Urban Primary.	13.1	21.7
Rural Primary.	68.0	32.9 " (1)

Manley's point, that only 2.8 per cent of rural farmers' children won free places in secondary high school education, was reinforced by Eyre who observed that in a central parish,

"most rural districts in the parish sent under three per cent of the appropriate age-group into secondary schools." (2)

Operation Friendship.

A further example of "poor" private schooling was "Operation Friendship", under joint denominational, the Kingston Rotary and other Service organisation sponsorship,

"established to create a 'bridge of friendship' between the people of Western Kingston and the people of the rest of Jamaica. Since its inception in 1961, Operation Friendship has had substantial success." (3)

Situated in down-town Kingston, adjacent to the Coronation Market, the extent of progress in this project achieved by voluntary aid and workers is substantial indeed. Services for the community of West Kingston now include medical and dental clinics, a day nursery for sixty children and an infant centre for over two hundred pupils, an adult education programme with attendances up to four hundred, and a Trade Training Centre. Operation Friendship provides scholarships to High schools for thirty-two children, as well as Housecraft and Youth Work programmes in two Boys' and one Girls' clubs.

"Operation Friendship has attracted the active support of numerous local and international organisations, service clubs, church relief agencies, government bodies, commercial firms and private individuals. Today, over £12,000 a year is needed to maintain Operation Friendship as the surface of the social problems of Western Kingston has barely been scratched." (4)

(1) Ibid. Table 6.

(2) Eyre, L.A. Environment and education: a study of social and environmental factors in the patterns of education and attainment in a Jamaican parish (Manchester). Unpublished M.A. Thesis. U.W.I. 1966. p 29.

(3) 'Bridge of Goodwill' Supplement to Bridges, the journal of Operation Friendship. January 1970.

(4) Ibid.

Aspirational levels.

"Income and prestige are correlated with employment patterns and the occupational recruitment system is based on the system of differential education..... This has been augmented by the increased importance of education in recent years as a means of social mobility." (1)

The theory of the "rising aspiration level" is that the aspirations of the individual tend to grow with achievement and to decline with failure. Strumpel (2) writes,

"(a) consumption aspirations will be stimulated not only by a varied choice of consumption goods at cheap prices but also by a dissolution of class boundaries and of strictly prescribed roles....

(b) Those peasants whose outlook towards their and their childrens' future is 'dynamic', who are aware of living in a changing world, who have a feeling of belonging to a larger national community appear to have particularly high consumption aspirations."

Yet the difficulty remained that the Jamaican economy in its transitional stages was not (and is not) capable of satisfying such aims for more than a small proportion of the population. Nevertheless the conviction has been consistently held, by Black rural Jamaicans, that education is the answer. This despite the evidence of homogeneity in the racial composition of the 'Black' working class; despite the fact that in rural schools only those pupils whose parents could afford, through private tuition, coaching preparation for the selective examinations which offered entry into the Secondary High school sector, were likely to experience more than elementary education; despite the wearisome regularity with which performance in the primary or all-age schools fell far short of standards required in the Secondary stage; despite the necessity to send their children on long journeys to schools, either with a higher ratio of trained staff or with a better course record in terms of selective entry successes than the local school which stood within the short distance of the local community which the Ministry of Education prescribed.

(1) Mau, J.A. Op.cit. p 29.

(2) Strumpel, B. 'Consumption aspirations: incentives for Economic change' in Social and Economic Studies. Vol 14 No 2. 1965. p 193.

(1)

Smith, in his 1960 paper, enumerated parental values vis a vis the Jamaican rural school:

"The school presents peasants with the idea and prospect of alternative occupations. Traditionally it has been the principal avenue of social mobility open to them in Jamaica, and in some periods perhaps the sole important one.....

There is little symbolism about the occupational preference parents hold for their children. In rural Jamaica these choices express the parents' frustrations and desire for their children's success by means of escape from the peasant environment. To the parents occupational advancement alone offers social mobility."

How far the aspirations, both for parent and child, were frustrated by the system of education, or by social forces without, will be examined in following sections.

Literacy levels.

A factor reflecting standards of attainment in the schools and significant in its potential effect upon either job opportunity or social mobility is the attainment of functional literacy. Francis noted 'a close correspondence between the numbers illiterate and those with less than two years of schooling', and analysed data from earlier census reports which indicated that the percentage of the population who could read and write had risen from 53.8 per cent in 1911 to 83.9 per cent in 1960. (2) These figures, however, related to the population aged ten years and over and the commentary noted that the levels of illiteracy for many rural parishes were up to six times higher than those recorded for Kingston.

Disturbing evidence was offered by Smith, through Ministry sponsored inquiries into standards of entrants into junior secondary schools in September 1970.

"54 per cent of the pupils moving into the junior secondary schools were functionally illiterate; i.e., unable to read beyond the grade IV level; and further that 84 per cent of the 3,000 students surveyed were incapable of reading at their own grade level." (3)

(1) Smith, M.G. Op.cit. p 351/353.

(2) Francis, O.C. Op.cit. Table 3.6.

(3) Smith, M.G. 'Towards a policy for Jamaican education - some notes'. cited in Ch. 11. Changing Jamaica. Kuper A. Routledge & Kegan Paul. 1976.

CHAPTER TWO

SOCIETY, THE ECONOMY AND EDUCATION

Social structure in Jamaica

Pluralism* has had a continuous and clouding effect upon the development of Jamaican society. Continuous in the sense that the tenacity of racial elites has been marked by its persistence in up-holding Metropolitan society values in life-style and cultural attributes, and clouding in that these mores, demonstrating throughout Colonialism, qualities of status and prestige, have permeated the bulk of society and have been seen in prescriptive terms. The pluralism of the Caribbean region differed in this respect from hierarchies

* Pluralism as seen by observers of West Indian Societies is heavily influenced by historically embedded tradition, socio-cultural and socio-economic factors and by 'social problems' engendered by the maintenance of a class hierarchy based on racial and ethnic differences.

Passage throughout, or between, the orders of race relations hypothesised by Banton (1967, pp 68-76) is subject to such factors. Thus the historical fact of a system of dominance reinforced not simply by subjugation but by slavery made it more likely that the Pluralism which emerged was not a system embodying equal political rights, nor was it a system operating under weakening influences from Metropolitan societies. The plantation system, characterised by large-scale land holding, concentration on a single cash crop and cheap labour can only have developed a pattern of relations based upon dominant and subordinate categories and it provided 'the most clear cut illustration of race as a role sign. Whatever their personal qualities, individuals are ascribed to one or the other category.' Economic development was more likely to change such a dominative society in the direction of an unequal pluralism than to any other form.

Assertions of discontinuities in the Jamaican social structure (Henriques 1953 Smith M.G. 1965) would seem to be held in question by the passage of events.

"The plurality is a discontinuous status order, lacking any foundation in a system of common interests and values, while its component sections are genuine status continua it is a serious error to equate pluralism with class stratification." (Smith M.G., 1965, p 83)

Yet Miller's (1971) observations, based on the notion of heterogeneities and common values in class structure reinforced Banton's comment that 'race was but one of several status criteria and could be easily offset by wealth, education, or a prestige-full occupation.' In one sense, within the context of this study, one needs only to observe the position of black Jamaicans listed as rural school-teachers in the 1938 Schools Directory but occupying positions of influence and power in the first decade of Independence, and also to recognise that black Jamaicans 'sought not to destroy the group above them but to join it.'

given the same label in other countries, indeed it may be that this characteristic has preserved the gradualist philosophy of development in the area.*

Whereas negroes in the U.S.A. have, in the past, acknowledged pluralism in terms of Caste, with race as a role sign,

"large segments of the Negro population have assimilated the dominant Caste's values of pecuniary success and social advancement, but have 'realistically adjusted' themselves to the 'fact' that social ascent is presently confined almost entirely to movement within the Caste,"⁽¹⁾

Jamaicans of African origin existed for generations in a post-Emancipation era characterised by highly visible Euro-centric standards. With tribal cultures virtually eradicated under slavery their only recourse lay in the emulation of such notions of freedom and independence. The elites of the region had a Nineteenth Century image of suffrage distorted by political excitement, garnered from knowledge of the massacres in close-by Haiti. Even Gordon as 'a man of colour' may have been seen as the potential leader of such an uprising.

The 'Plantocracy', made less secure by vagaries of the commodity market and receivers of plantation lands, still endowed with potential wealth, the Church seeking to evangelise, and generations of Colonial administrators, propagated notions of the freedom to 'know one's place.'

Miscegenation continued to perpetuate the brown stratum in society and despite the dictum that the mulatto was despised equally by black and white it was not surprising to find, either that this group aspired to the life-style of the white minorities, or that the black masses were motivated to work for the same goals as were enjoyed by brown and white elites.

* This is not to say that there was not a pattern of discrimination against members of the black rural, or urban, masses, indeed emergent groups such as the Chinese who were allowed to establish themselves during colonial rule could be seen to have collaborated with the Establishment to their own advantage, albeit through their own industry, thrift and adaptability, and to the disadvantage of the black majority. "It seems best to separate the elements of diversity and coercion in the concept of the plural society and to use the concept solely in a classificatory sense. It can then denote a common realm of political rights and social valuations together with separate spheres of community living so that individuals have additional social identities in certain spheres of their lives." (Banton: p 292)

(1) Dollard J. "Caste and Class in a Southern town." p 66 et. seq.

The general effect of these processes was the stigmatisation of manual wage labour by virtually all social classes up to the period of the franchise and self-government, with the corollary that status could be attained by the ardent pursuit of prescribed means. A fundamental analytical requirement for the study of cultural and economic aspirations in Jamaica seems to be a schematization of data on 'socially patterned variables' such as Merton⁽¹⁾ outlined.

- "1. Exposure to the cultural goals and norms regulating behaviour oriented toward them;
2. Acceptance of the goals and norms as moral mandates and internalised values;
3. Relative accessibility to the goals: life-chances in the opportunity structure;
4. The extent of discrepancy between the accepted goals and (their) accessibility;
5. The degree of anomie; and
6. The rates of deviant behaviour."

Both exposure to and acceptance of goals seemed endemic in the region made up of island communities with aspiration levels artificially heightened by the politics of expectation prior to and during Independence. The policies pursued, in conformity with post Colonial values purported to offer enhanced accessibility to goals, through the educational process and also to minimise the extent of discrepancy between goals and their accessibility.

Conformity to the norms of Western, rather than indigenous or African culture has proceeded continuously, and not surprisingly, in view of the protracted ascendancy of 'White' values. Apart from Garvey's "Back to Africa" campaign in the early 1920's the only significant example of antagonism to 'white bias' came in the Rastafari movement in the late 1950's and early 1960's.

"The Rastafarian is he who never will relinquish the fact that he is an African. To the Rastafarians who are black Jamaicans, multi-racial Jamaica becomes the Babylon which holds them in the captivity of a protracted diaspora.

(1) Merton R.K. "Social theory and social structure" Free Press 1951, p 175.

Here there is no pleasure of exile, only oppression and suffering at the hands of imperialist Europeans and 'their derivatives' (meaning the Jamaican brown men and privileged, evolved black members of the middle classes)."(1)

But Nettleford goes on to point out that this movement was quietist, political and revivalist in turn in its members

"but all deeply involved with the poverty and deprivation that was their climate of prime concern they proved to be revolutionary not in the sense of a Guevarian overthrow of the status quo, but by their identification of basic incongruities in the colonial and inherited power structure."(2)

The Rastafarian movement, well chronicled in the Mona paper⁽³⁾ would not appear to accord with Merton's use of the term 'anomie' but rather to be an instance of substitution both of goals and norms to which the greater part of Jamaican society took affront. Its adoption,

"brought uneasiness to a country which had never regarded itself as black, and was to the orthodox Jamaican Christians blasphemous and anti-Christian."(4)

This state of mind existed, however, in probable ignorance of the true conditions endured by members of the sect, or of the bases for their alienation.

"The University study in 1960 found that 'crowded into these ghettos (of West Kingston), unemployed, without Poor Relief or Government assistance and lacking any contact with upper and middle classes who preach Jamaica's prosperity, these slum dwellers turn in on themselves, quarrelling with one another, sharing misfortune and kindnesses with enclosed solidary groups whose bases are usually religion or kinship.

As the urban population grows by recruitment from the depressed areas, new arrivals are absorbed into these communities and come to share their institutions, values and attitudes as well as their humiliating experiences the cost of living goes up and so, perhaps does the rate of unemployment the tolerance of the unemployed declines over time and good will is consumed."(5)

- (1) Nettleford, R. Mirror, Mirror: Identity, Race and Protest in Jamaica. 1970. 'African Redemption.' p 41.
- (2) Ibid. . p 43.
- (3) Smith M.G., Augier F.R., Nettleford R., "The Rastafarian movement in Kingston Jamaica." Institute of Social & Economic Research, U.C.W.I., Mona, Jamaica 1960.
- (4) Ibid. p 45
- (5) Ibid. . p 51

Although, as Nettleford points out, 'the stratification resists any simplistic explanation and often serves to confuse many an analyst of Jamaican social relations' the generalisation is offered that, in the small island community, the visible attributes of status associated with wealth and development have continuously induced 'urban drift'. Further evidence to support this in terms of the concept of self was offered by Miller (1969)⁽¹⁾

"There are (no) protests about the lack of good agricultural training among the rural people of Jamaica, for they see the school as a means of escape from rural life if the schools in rural areas have an economic role to perform, it is not the training of farmers but the provision of skills which will allow farmers' children to leave the country parts."

In the study, conducted in urban High schools; with a sample comprising fifty-five per cent White, fair, Clear or Brown, almost thirteen per cent Chinese and thirty-two per cent Dark or Black (the latter a miniscule two point nine per cent); Miller appeared to demonstrate an unsettling consistency of attitudinal beliefs supporting 'white bias'. In addition to the cognized self in terms of skin colour, 'good' or 'bad' hair and facial characteristics, he examined self disparity and anxiety ratings across both colour groups and socio-economic backgrounds and summarised,

"A. Features of the High School culture are more likely to be congruent with that of the sub-culture of high status than with that of the low-status sub-culture.

B. Schooling is the normal expectation of life for high status students To the Chinese, High school is important as an avenue away from trading and shop-keeping and into professions low status students see the high school as an avenue of social mobility.

C. in regard to peers and to teachers, low status students experience greater hostility and rejection than students of high status,"⁽²⁾

and further concluded that since his test results consistently displayed higher ratings correlating with either socially prescribed colour or high socio-economic

(1) Miller, E.L. Op.cit. p. 104.

(2) Ibid. Summary, Ch. 8.

status that teachers rated students in the proscribed colour rankings or in lower socio-economic orders as more poorly adjusted. This accorded with the attitudes, almost a decade earlier, toward the Rastafari, satirized by a Leandro cartoon, the effect of which was expressed by Nettleford as

"the lack of social conscience among the more fortunate classes in Jamaica and the prevailing belief that the Rastafari were stupid, irrational and unlawful Jamaicans"(1)

But the views of the Rastafari contained 'germs of truth';

"we the black majority who has helped plow the soil, planted the vineyard and gather the fruits thereof, we are not the benefactors. Those who benefit are the protectors Jamaica's independence means a well without water, a treasury without money."(2)

Again, Nettleford pointed out that such insights 'put the heirs of political power on a defensive almost approaching panic.' They challenged the notion of harmonious relationships embodied in the Island motto and most of all they threatened to dispel the myth that opportunity was there for the taking. But the myth had currency. It had meaning for the rural black Jamaican enticed by the lights of the city, or by the blandishments of the media - extolling the virtues, through advertising, of this or that commodity, of the insurance salesman of the year, or the joys and companionship of Rotarian dinners or Jaycees' or Lions' meetings. It had meaning for the few. The few were represented either by the members of elites, and those to whom they extended membership, or by the members of the labour force in the diversifying sectors of the economy.

The adoption of the myth of industrialisation from Western cultures was pursued at political levels with an urbane disregard for basic features of historical development in such societies. What was glossed over were the social facts; that generations of industrialised workers experienced suppression by institutionalised agencies, whether these were 'Robber barons' in the United States of America, 'Iron masters' or landlords in the Nineteenth century United Kingdom or the Politburo of the Stalinist regime; that the era of the 'wage

(1) Nettleford, R. *Op.cit.* p.54.
(2) *Ibid.* p 61.

'slave' was ushered in by a policy of urbanisation to render labour, as an economic "factor of production", accessible to the goal of productivity; that changed methods of production and enlarged the cleavage between workers and operating executives to produce what Merton⁽¹⁾ termed 'sharper social stratification of industry.'

In Parsonian terms⁽²⁾ the goal of productivity follows the profit motive in the three basic phases of industrialisation and the latter inevitably leads to dis-equilibrium in society, creating the conditions for a competitive rather than a cooperative ethos. The in-built dynamic of industrialisation is upheld by Parsons' third concept, "commitment to the values" of the industrial process. Thus the influence of consumer potential was accentuated as an ingredient of life-style which inevitably affected levels of aspiration. These are grounds, it seems, for the belief that this level of aspiration, together with the widespread appeal which it appears to have, would tend to preclude notions of collectivisation or of revolutionary movements to overthrow the existing political structure. For example, the land tenure system under which substantial cohorts of the population depend on holdings to which they can claim title makes of the peasantry a class of mini-capitalists. Since it is the allegiance of these groups which sustains the two parties in Jamaica it seems proper to assume the political leaders are alert to the sensitivities of this pre-occupation with the land.

Development, the economy and employment.

Part of the 'development puzzle' is bound up with this feature in that the use of mini-holdings, while leading to self-employment, results in low productivity. Land settlement for building purposes, restricted by Government design to reclaimed or near ruin areas can be seen, particularly in suburban projects such as the Hellshire or Red Hills developments or condominiums in the North Coast region, as consumer practice open to elites which serve to emphasise the instability and low returns accruing to the agricultural use of land. With up to

(1) Merton, R.K. Op.cit. p.565.

(2) Parsons T. Structure and Process in Modern Societies. Free Press, 1960. p 138-42.

forty-five per cent of the island covered by forest and woodland and six per cent (in 1970) under urban development, swamp or mining use, barely half of the available acreage is under agriculture. Within this area eighteen plantations develop the bulk of coastal plateau fertile land and four mining companies hold exploration rights in other areas: a total acreage of 200,000 out of an estimated 1,300,000 acres.

Agriculture has shown less buoyant growth rates than other industrial development during Independence.

"Gross Domestic Product grew, in 1969, at 9.4 per cent; from 1963 to 1967, the annual growth rate calculated at constant (1960) consumer prices was 5.0 per cent, and at current (1972) prices 7.4 per cent." (1)

The growth rate for agriculture was 3.5 per cent from 1961 to 1967, being depleted by droughts in 1968 and 1969 to an overall 0.6 per cent. Apart from the export oriented use of plantation land for sugar, bananas, citrus, pimento or coffee, the mixed farming economy of land under smaller holdings was affected by the 'time honoured consumer preference' for imported goods. The implications of these factors were seen in the Santiago report. (2)

TABLE NO. 11

Value and proportion of exports and value of imports for selected years (in millions of Jamaican dollars at 1972 prices)

EXPORTS	1961		1965		1969	
	Value	%	Value	%	Value	%
Bauxite & Alumina	59.8	49.8	70.6	47.1	118.6	57.1
Agricultural produce	51.0	42.0	57.8	38.5	57.0	27.4
Manufactured products	7.2	5.9	15.8	10.5	22.8	11.0
Other products	5.2	4.3	5.8	3.9	9.4	4.5
Totals	121.2	100	150	100	207.8	100
IMPORTS - Food	28.9	-	40.8	-	59.9	-

N.B. 1961 percentages do not add to 100 because of rounding.

(1) "Employment and unemployment in Jamaica." Documento de Trabajo, P.R.E.A.L.C./54. Santiago, May 1972. p 1.

(2) Ibid. p 64 (abstract from Tables 2/3).

A continuing problem for Government is the fact that maximisation of land-use by mechanisation would result in mammoth increases in unemployment at plantation level farming and in further urban drift from the hill country, supposing that mechanisation were feasible on the steep terrain housing many small farms.

Employment in industry was 85,000 in 1960 and 93,000 in 1970,⁽¹⁾ an annual cumulative growth rate of less than one per cent. Part of the difficulty involved in the move towards a diversified economy has been the lack of skills regarded as essential in the manning of businesses based on manufacture. The Santiago report is quite explicit on another major area:

"Attitudes towards work.

The basic problem is not fully defined by the educational level of the labour force as such. According to many indications from the Trade Unions as well as employers and Government, one aspect of the unemployment problem refers to lags in the readiness of many people to engage in sustained work.

This in turn affects the degree in which potential manpower resources are consistently used and, more indirectly, the efficiency level of such use as exists even assuming a constant demand for labour, the readiness to work and, with it, actual employment might rise if attitudes towards employment changed."⁽²⁾

Among the reasons for this set of attitudes anomalous to the work ethic of the industrial society, are the calls for occasional help on family land, the historical association between hard manual labour and the oppression of field work on the plantations and what has been termed 'the bounteousness of nature' in a tropical climate where, in hospitable rural communities one can survive without regular earnings, and the long-standing influence of seasonal in-crop and out-crop work.

The process of diversification has contributed to this level of instability in the sense that where development has taken place, phases of activity have resulted in a transition from labour intensive to capital intensive systems. Within this framework

(1) Ibid. p 97
(2) Ibid. p 14

"the economic system has always maintained a division of labour on a racial/cultural group basis. Negroes occupy the lower-status manual positions, 'coloureds' hold many of the clerical positions while whites predominate in management and executive roles." (1)

Despite the degree of social mobility engineered for and by some groups of black Jamaicans,

"the black or brown men (who) occupy the seats of political power have maintained the status quo 'coloured' West Indians have generally emulated whites the Jamaican establishment is still dominated by a white and light coloured elite that (in conjunction with expatriates) owns most local resources and runs the economy, the banks, the schools, the civil service and even the trade unions." (2)

Given that this appraisal had some validity it was notable that at both youth and adult age levels, potentially mobile rural, black Jamaicans perceived that economic and bureaucratic development created new pyramids for social ascent. The acquisition of both skills and qualifications became a matter of prime concern. As the demand for technical and lower to middle management personnel became critical, and the measures instituted by various Ministries partially serviced the demand it seemed unreasonable to assume that those who achieved social mobility would fail to embrace the values of their new station or that they would be persuaded to denigrate them.

Major difficulties remained during the first decade of Independence, to complicate the processes of economic development and transition to a mixed economy. Some of these were bound up with individual levels of perception. A proportion of those who moved to a position of closer proximity to the higher echelons of management - often filled by expatriate staff, usually and necessarily white on the basis of their having expertise in Industrial society techniques - were motivated to aim at further self-advancement. The only avenue open to them was that of migration. Economic Surveys of 1970 and 1971 noted that the number of skilled workers increased to nearly three quarters of the total workers migrating.

(1) Milner D. "Children and Race" Penguin. 1975. p 109

(2) Lowenthal D. "Black Power in the Caribbean", letter in Race Today. 1970. 2 No. 3. pp 94-5.

TABLE NO. XIIOccupational classification of migration 1967 - 1970⁽¹⁾

Category	1967 %	1968 %	1969 %	1970 %
Professional, Technical and Related	17.2	13.4	14.3	12.5
Administrative, Executive and Managerial	1.4	1.1	1.5	2.5
Clerical	12.1	11.3	13.4	15.4
Sales	1.3	1.2	1.9	2.2
Craftsmen	8.6	9.3	14.3	21.6
Other skilled	12.7	14.4	15.3	20.1
Semi-skilled	(44.4	0.9	1.6	2.1
Unskilled	(47.3	47.3	36.7	22.7
Not classified	2.3	1.0	1.0	0.8

Employment trends

The 1971 Economic Survey noted a downward trend in the Sugar industry employment figures,

"demonstrated as much among the self-employed as among the paid employees the 1971 figure includes 16,968 small farmers who delivered less than 100 tons of cane for the crop. This compares with approximately 18,000 for the previous crop."⁽²⁾

There was also a relative decline in the Bauxite and Alumina industry employment figures of thirteen per cent, or 1,761 workers,

"the main reason for this decrease is the laying off of construction workers on the completion of the plant at Revere, which was not offset by the additional workers employed in mining and processing as the plant came into operation."⁽³⁾

In the Hotel and tourist industry there was an increase of 570 persons employed, to a total of 9,300, but 'this represented a growth rate of 6.5 per cent against 7.1 per cent in the previous year.'

The P.R.E.A.L.C. document on employment noted that eighty-four per cent⁽⁴⁾ of all manufacturing industry was located in the metropolitan area of Kingston and St. Andrew and the adjacent parish of St. Catherine. At a later stage the document commented upon the human aspect of the employment problem:

(1) Abstract from 'Economic Survey - Jamaica' 1970 & 1971. Central Planning Unit, Kingston.

(2) Ibid. p 23.

(3) Ibid.

(4) Ibid. p 20.

"The most obvious need in this field concerns planned upgrading of the educational system in a way that will enable it to serve future employment needs of the individual no less than his general thirst for knowledge. Some such upgrading is already under way with Canadian and World Bank aid. The concrete goals of educational reform will include a curriculum which is clearly related to the daily life experience of the pupil and his family, and which offers some early training in usable skills along with more general knowledge of the world. Such patterns of education will prepare the ground for more advanced and specialised studies which will increase a person's prospects for obtaining a job or starting independent economic activities thus possibly contributing to the productive employment of others This will have the desired educational results only if it is accompanied by increased training of teachers."⁽¹⁾

This expression of concern mirrored earlier comment by Rubin⁽²⁾ in a paper specifying the plight of many, if not the great bulk of the child population in the region.

"New generations of school children will need to be oriented to national manpower and development requirements if they are not to find themselves in a cycle of high aspirations and deep frustrations."⁽³⁾

Rubin's comment on Surinam would seem to apply with equal force to the situation in Jamaica after ten years of Independence:

"The educational system appears to fulfil no manifestly integrative function with respect to the plural society."⁽⁴⁾

Patterns of education in Jamaica

The system of education in the island was traditionally and manifestly based on a two-level structure. Prior to self-government the system approximated to the pattern of English education in the Nineteenth Century: elementary schooling for the masses with curriculum emphasis at the functional level, literacy, numeracy and basic skills together with such socialisation as would encourage

(1) Ibid. para's 91/2.

(2) Rubin V. "Deprivation and disadvantage: Nature and manifestation - the non-Hispanic Caribbean." UNESCO Institute for Education Conference, Hamburg, Germany, October 1967.

(3) Ibid.

(4) Ibid. p 38.

habits of neatness, punctuality and compliance; for elites in society education was more symbolic - the classical tradition obtained, securing adherence to the curriculum and educational practices of selective schools in England - from whence teaching staff were recruited and whose external examination syllabi were copied or adopted.

This pattern persisted until Independence, the major deviation being again borrowed in the form of the right of access to secondary from elementary education which the 1957 Common Entrance Examination secured. Rural farming or urban working class Jamaicans still had all-age schools, very few with formally recognised infant departments, with leaving ages which precluded the possibility of study beyond the rudimentary level for the bulk of their pupils.

During Independence, Ministerial policy generally favoured the establishment of primary and secondary courses, though within the same building for state school pupils, until, with such funding as could be secured from the budget but principally with the help of major international loan schemes, schools designated as primary and junior secondary could be established to replace the all-age system. By 1973 the transition was partially operational but the bulk of the working class school population was still housed in all-age schools. Selective secondary education was pursued in forty 'grammar' type high schools and six technical high schools together with an innovatory trend, again influenced by Western or Metropolitan society educational philosophies, which resulted in the institution or re-organisation of three schools based on the comprehensive principle.

A study of the patterns reveals idiosyncracies of provision and practice, not necessarily symptomatic of Jamaican national ideals. Rather, it is suggested, features which were found may be due to economic, political and social factors from without. Many of the norms, value systems and goals which operate in Jamaican society stem from dominant Metropolitan society cultures, a pressure to which all developing countries are vulnerable. The maintenance of privilege, where privilege exists and, through self-interest needs to protect its advantages, can be seen in Jamaica as plainly as in many more "developed" societies.

The Ministerial system in education.

The essence of the change in educational outcomes must be expressed, it seems, in terms of transition from colonial administration to Ministerial direction over educational policy, planning and control. Under the former system, as Williams expressed the situation;

"in the conditions which existed..... before the rise in colonial nationalism, this European education was not only inevitable but, conceivably, was even a necessary condition of colonial development. For, compared with the advanced countries of the modern world, the level of production in the colonies was low, and they were socially backward. The first stage of their development, therefore, was not an obscurantist defence of their own backwardness but an education as modern as was then possible." (1)

The adoption of the Ministerial system, and the crucial appointment of a Minister, were linked inescapably with the critical stages of self-government and independence. In the interests of fast constitutional progress, stresses between the claims to authority of experienced administrators within the bureaucracy of the civil service and politicians claiming to know what was educationally good for the people, as well as those of professional educators, all had to be resolved. Such claims, set in the context of emergent countries, were considered by Evans.

"In these countries, there is seldom a local, indigenous democratic background - at least, as this is understood in the United Kingdom - if for no other reason than that a popular franchise did not exist there until comparatively recent times. The introduction of a Ministerial system, therefore, has not always proved easy, and it has often been accompanied by some degree of friction.....

In a democracy power is vested by the people in its elected representatives who interpret the popular will through the machinery (of Government).... The important thing for a Minister of Education..... is to allow the people, through their elected representatives, to decide what is good for themselves. They cannot abdicate this right in favour of professional experts.....

(1) Williams, F. Education in the British West Indies. 2nd Edition. 1968. p. 12.

"The view put by educationists, namely education is much too highly skilled a technical and professional concern to be entrusted, where policy making is concerned, to non-professionals such as Ministers of Education. It is surprisingly widespread, for example, amongst the intellectuals of emergent countries, many of whom accepted the Ministerial system, one suspects, not so much because they wanted it, but because it signalled the departure of a colonial system they had grown to hate."⁽¹⁾

Whatever the rights of the relative claims, in the first decade of Independence in Jamaica the third alternative prevailed. Evans went on to point out that, in common with the view of 'many nationals of developing countries' it was felt that the educationist 'knew best' what was educationally good for the country.

"Few seem to realise that it is precisely because the Minister of Education's task is to interpret the will of the people rather than to impose his own educational views upon them, that it is an unwritten law, both in Britain and in those oversea countries which have adopted the Ministerial system, that a Minister should never himself be a professional in that which he seeks to administer."⁽²⁾

The responsibilities of the Minister, subject to the views of Government in Cabinet, are to formulate policy, subject to constraints from his Civil Servants, his own party and the party in opposition.

"A wise Minister is the first to recognise that, though he may be anxious to implement a particular educational policy desired by his party or the majority of the electorate who put him into power, he cannot do this effectively without the permanent executive machinery represented by his civil servants, and the advice of his top educational advisers on the soundness or otherwise of the policy concerned."⁽³⁾

The positions of the Permanent Secretary, as head of the civil service in the Education Ministry and the Chief Education Officer as professional adviser to the Minister were also critical to the matter of educational provision - on policy, its administration and its quality. At this high administrative level the dangers existed of failing, through dogmatism, to maintain a pliable attitude toward changing educational needs, of creating inflexibility in personal

(1) Evans, P.C.C. "The Ministerial system in Education" - in Overseas Education Vol. XXXV. No. 2. July 1962. p 54/5.

(2) Ibid. p 56.

(3) Ibid. p 57.

relationships and of inducing tensions between parties necessarily involved through their political, administrative or professional roles, in the Ministry or in the education system.

In addition to internal tensions, expressions of unrest in the society were beginning to manifest themselves. As Kuper pointed out:⁽¹⁾

"The developments in public life and the political environment that must be stressed in the analysis of modern Jamaica include the following:

1. The fact that people of African ancestry have come to dominate the political and administrative structures. As in all formerly colonial states, this helps to undermine the old sense of black impotence and dependence.
2. The related fact that political leaders are now ultimately dependent upon popular support, and that in consequence the black masses, recently politically marginal, now have a sense of their political importance.
3. These developments coincided with the highly-publicized emergence of the Rastafarian movement in Jamaica and of the various Black Power movements in the U.S.A. All of these stemmed in part from the ideas of the Jamaican Marcus Garvey, who was officially declared a 'National Hero', though like most prophets, he had enjoyed little honour at home in his lifetime.
4. Both Black Power and the Rastafarian movement were part of the international politicization of 'race', which was such a feature of the 1960's. This was related in turn, to the political emergence of Black Africa, perhaps particularly Nkrumah's Ghana. The new international, political meaning of 'blackness' has been very important in Jamaica.
5. All these developments combined to draw attention to the continued metropolitan domination of the economy and to one of the symbols of Jamaica's poverty and dependence, the tourists.
6. Finally, all this coincided with a period of massive Jamaican emigration, first to the United Kingdom and then to North America, a movement which also has relevance to the interpretation of racial symbols."⁽²⁾

(1) Kuper, A. Changing Jamaica. Routledge & Kegan Paul. 1976.

(2) Ibid. p 103/4.

Pressures upon the Ministerial system invested in the two political parties originated from a degree of ambivalence in that, as well as seeking mass support, each administration in turn contributed to the perpetuation, if not the strengthening, of institutional forces at middle-class, professional or executive elite levels.

Originally, however, the J.L.P. was a populist movement to a more marked degree than the P.N.P., for the greater part of its history upheld by the charismatic appeal of Bustamante, though commercial and professional groups, antipathetic to the socialist ideals of the elder Manley, readily gave support. The urban, professional and middle-class values of the early P.N.P. appeared, in the context of the present study, to equate more readily with attitudes favouring opportunity, cooperative rather than competitive attributes, and ideas of personal commitments to the needs of society.

Norman Manley gave recognition, encouragement and support to the teaching profession in his speeches.⁽¹⁾ Fairly consistent teacher reaction during the field study suggested that a significant proportion of the profession was aligned with the P.N.P., and demonstrably opposed to, or by, the J.L.P. administration in the first decade of Independence. This is not by any means to suggest that teachers indulged in the politicization of education, or that the Minister adopted punitive attitudes toward his profession (although some teacher opinion did go as far as to believe this). It does take some account of developmental trends in education in the 1960's which may be attributed to Ministerial attitudes put in question in the preceding section of this study. Kuper mounted a critique on the comprehensive and junior secondary schools:

"Most of them are little more than elaborate deceptions practised upon the unsuspecting mass of poor and uneducated Jamaicans,"⁽²⁾

indeed it is notable that two of the three comprehensive schools operating in 1972 - 73 (Frankfield and Tivoli Gardens), were in J.L.P. Ministerial constituencies.

(1) Nettleford, R. (Ed). Manley and the New Jamaica. Longman, 1971.

(2) Kuper, A. Op. cit. p. 71.

Curriculum in the schools

In colonial Jamaica agriculture was the living reality in the experience and environment of the child. As such it should have formed the basis of elementary education so as to integrate the school curriculum with the life-style of the, then, predominantly rural child population. Williams,⁽¹⁾ commenting on pre-war conditions acknowledged that education was in the main

"external to the real life of the people, affecting it from without rather from within; the best education provided tends to direct the attention and ambitions of its pupils away from their true interests and those of their country."⁽²⁾

The West India Royal Commission of 1938 called for

"an end of the illogical and wasteful system which permits the education of a community predominantly engaged in agriculture to be based upon a literary curriculum fitting pupils only for white collar careers in which opportunities are comparatively limited."⁽³⁾

At the time the comments were called for and objective in both ethical and educational terms, but they failed to outweigh prevailing attitudes based on the efficacy of education as a mobilising force in society. Secondary education was

"so severely restricted to the few that the English education that it provides becomes a sign of class distinction." (Williams)⁽⁴⁾

In a hardly less significant manner, elementary education was also restricted by a variety of influences. Some of these were based on the provision of school places in relation to the relevant age-groups, some on disparities between urban and rural youth - particularly in the matter of teacher provision, and some on the basis of socio-economic aspirations. Williams put the position of Jamaica as being typical of the situation in the rest of the region:

"Statistics for 1944 - 45 gave an enrolment in the primary schools of 57 per cent of the children between five and fourteen, and an attendance for all sessions of 56 per cent of enrolment, or 33 per cent of the population of the island's school age, five to fourteen."⁽⁵⁾

(1) Williams, E. Education in the British West Indies. University Place Bookshop, New York, 1968 Edition.

(2) Ibid. p 30.

(3) West India Royal Commission Report. Cmdn 6607, H.M.S.O. London 1945, p 92.

(4) Williams, E. Op. cit. p 31.

(5) Ibid. p. 38

At one level, among the thirty-three per cent, attitudes toward education were associated with social advancement, despite the limitations suffered by black Jamaicans in the class hierarchy which existed. In other levels, environmental factors took effect. Primarily, education at the time was not compulsory except on paper, and then only for certain designated areas, since school places were insufficient to cater for the child population. Again, economic necessity forced parents to involve their children in the every day struggle to scratch an existence from the hill farms to which they had migrated after Emancipation, or in towns where survival was equally precarious for the lower classes. It was notable also that the attendance and performance of girls in the educational system was higher than that of boys, whose labour it was seen was more needed in agriculture than in an education from which no benefit could be plainly gained.

With the association between the acquisition of educational status, even at the elementary, or early senior school level, and social mobility within the black cohorts of society, it was not strange to find that the attempts to modify curriculum gained only partial success. A 'completely revised curriculum' resulted from the recommendations of the West India Royal Commission⁽¹⁾

"to vitalise the teaching and to make it a real thing, closely connected with the life of the Jamaican child."

Caribbean Readers, West Indian Histories and Geographies and curriculum content on Jamaican history and natural history were produced but the evidence of many Jamaicans whose educational experience covered this period, gave for the author a picture of curriculum in the traditional mould which encouraged literary rather than practical aptitudes, but which accorded with the affinity of most emerging middle-class Jamaicans with British qualities. In the case of the, largely, non-mobile lower classes Miller (1969) pointed out:

(1) West India Royal Commission, 1938 - 39, Statement of action taken on the recommendations. Cmdnd 6656, H.M.S.O., London. 1945. p 15.

"the level of expectation of the black masses rose, especially with respect to their economic plight. The black and coloured politicians exploited these expectations Now, seven years after achieving Independence, as far as the majority of the masses are concerned, their expectations and the promises made to them are still unfulfilled."⁽¹⁾

Nowhere was this more plainly seen than in the matter of educational provision, though other major considerations need to be taken into account.

Education, occupation and status

The influence of social aspiration was coupled with that of urban drift, both factors influencing disaffected agricultural workers and those individuals who saw the possibilities of putting educational attainment to use;

"factory employment in 1942 in Jamaica may be estimated at under 20,000. The inhabitants of the towns are mainly employed in commerce, administrative and professional service. The economic structure of the towns, therefore, directly depends on that of the country, and the recent growth of the population of the towns at the expense of that of the country may be regarded in a certain sense as parasitic."⁽²⁾

The ranges of opportunity in government or administrative roles which expanded as self-government approached, as well as the increase in openings in education and other professions for black Jamaicans, assured the continuation of the traditional curriculum in the state sector. In one way this exemplified symbolic attitudes to education as a process endowing one with superior qualities. For those socially mobile individuals who aspired to higher qualifications it assured continuity. It also reinforced the long-felt conviction that a functional or vocational curriculum was associated with low status. The Jamaica Local Examinations, with which the elite secondary sector had nothing to do, carried weight in the island as the premier qualification of the state system, and had currency as an entry standard to further education or to a non-manual occupation.

In this respect the secondary school system, for the early part of the period outside the jurisdiction of the Department of Education, clung to the testing procedures of metropolitan society, as Williams pointed out.

(1) Miller, E. L. Op. cit. p 92

(2) Simey, T. S. Welfare and Planning in the West Indies. Oxford University Press. 1946. intro., pp 5/6.

"the situation in the British colonies is aggravated by the fact that the secondary schools take examinations set in England by English examiners. Instead of the curriculum determining the examination, the examination determines the curriculum."(1)

Even when unified under the Ministry of Education's aegis, the secondary sector necessarily maintained its selective principles and generally academic approach.

Primary and selective secondary education.

The dual nature of the overall system, embodying as it did characteristics which nurtured or developed the attributes of the 'achievement syndrome', together with features which did neither of these, indeed which inhibited the possibility of even basic attainment levels, suggests an examination in terms of achievers and non-achievers. The levels of excellence and examples of high potential were statistically related to the selective area of secondary education. There was also a correlation between the private sector and selective secondary schooling, though how far this was attributable to environmental advantages rather than raw potential was a matter for conjecture. In the light of the developmental stage through which the society was moving at the time of the field study it was apparent that the economy could only sustain the range of opportunity in secondary education which had been implemented at that time. If this was the case then the question of educational provision resolved itself into a matter of defining the groups whose education would terminate at Grade Nine and those for whom extended education beyond the statutory age limit (of 15) offered the possibility of higher education. The tool by which this selective process was attained was the Common Entrance Examination, operating both for High and Technical High schools.

Historically, there was also a correlation between secondary education and both social class and colour. The primary and all-age sector related largely to the black rural working classes, latterly influenced to a significant degree by urban drift. It seems appropriate to examine how far these cohorts, which comprise the greater part of the population and within whose ranks exists much of the potential on which a developing country depends, were disadvantaged in the selective process and what disincentives obtained to blunt their levels of aspiration, though similar inequalities were apparent in the pre-war British system.

(1) Williams.E. Op.cit. p 16.

Deprivation, disadvantage and education.

Further factors, having adverse effects upon the educability of age cohorts throughout the educational system, also plagued the disadvantaged sections of the Jamaican community. These were, particularly, the depressed urban populations and the factors comprised the deprivation syndromes in West Indian society examined by Rubin:

"Malnutrition, poor health, lack of education, binding poverty, and limited life-chances in a closed social structure constitute deprivation, objectively defined, whether or not children express feelings of being deprived." (1)

Lack of educational opportunity is thus seen as being only one symptom of the syndrome,

"the new 'zeitgeist' of nationalism and modern social and economic development, brings in its wake a new potential source of perceived deprivation which is perhaps most striking among the youth of new nations." (2)

The juxtaposition of deprivation with the emerging 'achievement syndrome', the mark of attitudes and aspirations associated with secondary school experience and background, poses for the educator and educational administrator and planner a range of problems. Some of these were rooted deep in the traditions of the region, for example, arising out of West Indian family structure.

"Limitations of literacy and of educational attainment generally, also can be correlated with the range of socio-cultural alternatives in family organisation, child care, nutrition, health and life expectancy, in life-chances and ways of life." (3)

It is notable that these features related more effectively to the black, more particularly the non-socially mobile black cohorts, whether found in rural setting or in the lower class, generally slum-like conditions of fast growing urban communities. Evans summarised the position of male adolescents

(1) Rubin, V. Op.cit. p 34.

(2) Ibid.

(3) Ibid. p 1.

(4) Evans, P.C.C. 'An experiment in youth rehabilitation.' in International Journal of adult and youth education. Vol. XV, No 1., 1963.

deprived of permanent role models from whom to acquire socialisation patterns. This was part of the heritage of an enslaved population wherein it was seen that a male slave was necessarily a poor field worker if he had the distraction of family responsibilities to divert his attention from his labours. It was apparent that the frame of reference for elites of that day precluded the notion that the same responsibilities may have enhanced his levels of motivation and made him more and not less productive. The point was that the era of the wage worker had not arrived and the proscription of formal marriage unions, though promiscuity was not similarly confined, left the Jamaican male tending to possess

"a type of personality lacking in concentration (evidenced by an inability to continue for any length of time in any fixed occupation) often mother- or woman- dependent, and seeking to demonstrate its virility and manhood in such things as pride in the number of children a man can beget."(1)

Similarly, the black Jamaican female adolescent was vulnerable in terms of her fertility, though she did benefit from the presence of a number of role models, tending to grow up with a more stable and emotionally mature outlook, though still subject to the meagre life-style of the subsistence farming economy.

The debilitating effects of malnutrition among the lower social classes have been a cause of concern in Jamaica for some time. In the Five Year Independence Plan

"It is generally recognised that malnutrition in a community is the result of adverse social and economic conditions as well as unsuitable dietary habits In 1962 a Nutrition Consultant from F.A.O. advised that Jamaica's serious nutrition problem was centred around cultural and economic circumstances, and was aggravated by the inadequate local production of protein foods and inadequate appreciation of the need for them."(2)

To the individual deficiencies caused by low caloric and protein intake, with a consequent lack in resistance to communicable diseases, must be added the adverse psychological characteristics induced by poor environmental conditions. Among

(1) Ibid.

(2) Five year Independence Plan. 1963 - 68. p 46.

these were patterns of passivity such as acceptance of insufficiencies as reasons for inactivity. Macpherson linked further psychological characteristics with educational reinforcements: (1)

"slow physical and mental response associated with innate deficiency in capacity.	poor performance expected in view of poor intellectual inheritance.
slowness and avoidance of work attributed to laziness.	slowness, apathy, and dis-interest reinforced by lack of stimulus in the environment.
lack of attention, focus on task; reliance on 'persons' rather than on 'activities' for enjoyment and pleasure; self-interest rather than group interest important.	enjoyment and pleasure at school not gained from approved activities, either intellectual or physical, but from covert inter-actions with peers; preservation of self achieved by such means as copying from a neighbour to avoid punishment."

Mental retardation in Jamaica

More serious inadequacies resulting in mental retardation, were recognised by the first Caribbean Mental Retardation Conference.

"Estimates of mental retardation incidence vary from 2% in affluent areas to 7% in deprived regions, with the usual conservative overall figure of 3% being mentioned. In Jamaica this would mean 60,000 affected individuals with 1,800 being born every year or five every day.

Eighty to eight-five per cent of these would be classified as mildly retarded in the U.S.A. or E.S.N. in Britain, 10% - 13% as moderately affected or trainable, and the remainder as severely or profoundly mentally handicapped." (2)

In a plenary session on environment it was disclosed that most children referred came from the Kingston area. Racially, they were predominantly African, the marital status was 40% single, 31% married and living with husband, and 24% common-law, or married but not living with husband.

"The girls tended to be more communicative than the boys. There was also frequently a language problem and the mother often had to translate The actual administration of the tests had to be modified. Used in the prescribed way the results

- (1) Macpherson, P. "Determining qualitative changes in education - analysis of the relationships between historical, psychological and educational determinants in the Jamaican society." Seminar paper, UNESCO Institute for Education, Hamburg, 1967.
- (2) "Mental retardation in the Caribbean: needs, resources, approaches." In, First Caribbean Mental Retardation Conference Report. Jamaica, 1970.

"would have been infinitely lower Gesell tests score for plurals and very few children would score here. Plurals are almost non-existent in much Jamaican language There are two possible reasons for the poorer performance in the adaptive tests. One would be the little exposure to books, and stimulating equipment. The other again might be constitutional in that they might not have the same visual and perceptive skills that others have Language is cultural. The parent has limited language and communication. We can say we are detecting absence of skills which may affect education. These deficiencies are going to cause difficulty in learning and possibly a permanent limitation in their future educability."(1)

The discussion which followed included observations that the majority of children referred in Jamaica were culturally deprived, poor and sub-nourished even though they were not mal-nourished. At a plenary session on environmental factors Dr. Hawke commented,

"What I am coming to is the basic relationship between male and female in family life in Jamaica. Where the parents are living together and supporting each other, where the fathers are working and mother is looking after the child; these are the middle-class families where the families do well because they are living for the next generation. These parents of whom there are only a few on the survey are willing to sacrifice themselves in order for their children to succeed we are asking that many of the people of Jamaica should look at their way of life and their relationships to families."(2)

The responsibility for the care of mentally retarded children in Jamaica came under four different Ministries, Health, Education, Youth and Community Development and Labour. The final word on any financial aid also involved the Ministry of Finance. Jamaica was the first country in the Caribbean to have a voluntary association, the Jamaica Association for Mentally Handicapped Children founded in 1956. By 1972, supported by the Government who paid teachers salaries the association operated: (3)

- (1) Ibid.
- (2) Ibid. Hawke, W.A., 'The pre-school environment and mental retardation.'
- (3) "Biennial report of the Caribbean association on mental retardation." Kingston, 1972.

"a school for 140 children in Kingston.

two unit classes in a primary school and a private preparatory school.

assistance in the running of a school attached to the Government alms house.

The Lopez Home, boarding 40 - 50 children.

Schools in Montego Bay and Mandeville and a small home in Port Antonio.

A sheltered workshop being expanded to take 50 men and women.

Government provides a 'ward' for 35 severely disturbed children at the Bellevue Mental Hospital and 65 severely nandicapped children and an unknown number of adults are in the Eventide Home where the Association assists with a school."

The University of the West Indies also runs the Hope Experimental school for physically handicapped children on the Mona Campus. The Lister Mair Gilbey Trust operates two schools for the deaf, in the corporate area. One, temporarily housed in urban St. Andrew is a primary school for forty five pupils, selected on the basis of their need for specialist tuition. In the barely adapted rooms of a house, financed by community effort, there were headphone facilities for each pupil. Only two of the six staff are qualified teachers of the deaf. The Jamaica Association for the Deaf pays a \$J 45 monthly increment for teachers who qualify on the basis of a one-year Diploma course offered by the School of Education at the U.W.I. A purpose-built school, also financed by community effort and contributions from local firms, was sited on a pleasant two-acre location in Hope Estates, adjacent to Papine. The school, designed for sixty pupils, housed seventy children of secondary age. Four of the nine staff are qualified teachers of the deaf. School facilities are good, including ten desks wired for headphones in each of the six rooms, a multi-purpose hall with stage and curtains, storage space in each classroom and adequate kitchen facilities. There is also a residential home for twenty of the children on the site. The pupils, who are prepared for the Jamaica School Certificate, and, occasionally the G.C.E., especially in Art, were presenting their own Christmas programme at the time of the field study visit. The devotion of the staff and the well planned environment served to emphasise community aspirations linked with the notion of providing at least some of the handicapped with compensations which few could afford. Few, that is, of the lower classes for whom educational opportunity was restricted.

Private schools

One such example of preferential provision is the system of private education in the island. Riders must be added to the effect that ability and willingness to pay fees do not necessarily constitute the exercise of unfair advantage. On the one hand, the subsidy to educational provision which fee paying provides, constitutes a necessary and welcome adjunct to the Government budget for state education. On the other hand many parents not of the privileged minority seek advancement for their children and, seeing education as an agent of social mobility recognise and are prepared to pay for the benefits which private education may confer.

The true scope of the private sector is indeterminate, mainly since statistical inquiry into its literal proportions is hampered by the lack of a Directory of Private schools. Although the 1958 Directory of Schools gave private school populations of 3,247 in eighteen listed, and 1,155 in fourteen unlisted schools (only one of the former of which subsequently became State-Aided), whatever may have existed as a comprehensive record of recognised institutions under the private banner had lapsed at the time of the field study.

One available key to information on certain of these was the Synod Reports of the Anglican Church in Jamaica. From five year books data was revealed on conditions, staffing and school size for seven preparatory schools and two single-sex, boarding secondary schools, each having its own preparatory department. All displayed exclusive characteristics. Preparatory, as a label in Jamaica meant much the same as it did in England. In addition to assimilating the process of education appropriate to the age group, pupils were manifestly prepared for achieving entry into the next stage. The average school size was 140 pupils. All had ancillary staff and in the main had qualified teachers, who on the basis of simple staff/pupil ratios had classes of twenty-five or less to contend with, the smallest classes recorded being from ten to fifteen.

The examination system, similar to the English 11+, was operated at the age of eleven, in some cases ten, with most pupils entered for the Common Entrance Examination. Between 1965 and 1969, mean success ratios in this

examination were 75, 90, 70, 58 and 59 per cent respectively, some schools recording one hundred per cent in the earlier years, though latterly some pupils entered the examination "from other schools".

At the secondary level, De Carteret College for Boys had 280 pupils, Bishops High School for Girls 180, forty per cent and twenty-five per cent respectively of the mean school size for Government Aided church High schools. De Carteret had the highest proportion of graduate teachers for all church schools in the island. Although Bishops had the lowest proportion - twenty four per cent, all graduates were expatriate, predominantly qualified in the United Kingdom. Over eighty-three per cent of the teachers at De Carteret were U.K. graduates.

During the period for which data was available, or following the revision of Common Entrance awards to an allocation of seventy per cent of places to state school candidates and thirty per cent to private school entrants, both schools increased in size, De Carteret with a fifty-nine per cent expansion, the largest of all Church High schools and Bishops High school with a twenty-four per cent growth rate. Despite this, both schools maintained low pupil-teacher ratios, 12.5:1 and 8.5:1 respectively.

As to the end product, the presentation of data in the Synod reports did not permit a detailed analysis of G.C.E. 'O' level results. The performance levels claimed were consistently high with the bulk of students passing between four and seven subject papers. The lowest proportion of successful students out of total entrants was sixty-six per cent at Bishops High school. In the following year there were no entrants who failed to pass at least one subject and in the final year (1969) the school had a ninety-three per cent success rate. In the case of De Carteret only occasional single subject failures were recorded in the five year period, equally rare instances where pupils performed successfully in nine subjects and the only other failures were at 'A' level, where, invariably, an 'O' level pass was awarded.

These schools are not necessarily typical of all private establishments in the island, but they do have one characteristic in common. That is to say that the level of efficiency in the achievement of social goals is seen by parents and intending pupils as a mark of some significance. For all schools, private or state, an indicator at the primary level is the degree of success which the school can muster in the vital entrance examination to selective secondary education.

In the year following the field study, data⁽¹⁾ on the award of high school places as a result of the Common Entrance Examination disclosed some details of the private sector. Collating of the total range of places awarded, with schools of origin of candidates, disclosed a total of eight-four "preparatory" schools and twelve schools designated as high schools or 'academy', but obviously catering for pre-secondary age pupils. This total of ninety six schools compared with 394 state schools, designated either Primary (166 schools) or All-age (228 schools). There were other schools whose designations were not always clear: one Junior secondary, the 'Operation Friendship' school, the Hope Valley experimental school for handicapped pupils, and three others.

The whole of the private sector produced 1,229 successful candidates from this number of schools, an average of twelve point eight (12.8) per school against 3,271 places from the three hundred and ninety four state schools, an average of eight point two (8.2) per school. Unfortunately the lack of a directory of schools for either sector precluded the possibility of regionalising the data. The church preparatory schools noted above were all urban, mainly in the Kingston and St. Andrew region. It was neither feasible nor physically possible to ascertain the locations of others.

The public sector of education.

It is difficult to turn to an examination of state school provision in Jamaica following an appraisal of the generally excellent and efficient schools which comprise the private sector, without first acknowledging a number of features.

(1) "Ministry of Education: Common Entrance Examination - Secondary High Schools, 1974." Supplement to the Daily Gleaner 11th May 1974.

In general terms it is difficult to see how one could fail to be impressed, at the appropriate times of day, by the hordes of Jamaican youngsters, almost invariably uniformed and intent on their journey to or from school.

While 'not satisfactory for Jamaica in an absolute sense' the statistics which the Santiago document offered⁽¹⁾ claiming that of those unemoloyed eighty-nine per cent had primary education and four per cent had post-primary education compare favourably with a number of other countries.

The regular incidence of voluntary extended education found in schools seen on the field study indicated willingness on the part of parents, pupils and teachers (and also the Ministry in turning a blind eye on the practice) to extract from the educational experience every advantage which could be gained. The incredible pressure, endemic in developing countries, of a population explosion and the stresses which this creates for a society with a substantial proportion of its population within the school-attending age ranges. One social aspect of this feature is that it is most apparent among the cohorts of society which constitute the working and lower classes. The middle classes appear in Jamaica as in Metropolitan societies, to have moderated this effect.

The positive attitudes toward education, on the part of pupils who recognised the vital nature of the exercise as contributory to their own development and life-chance, or on the part of teachers, qualified or not, who held their responsibility to their pupils seriously and dedicatedly.

Parental attitudes

The awareness of parents to the gains made possible by private education has already been stressed. For the author two examples were found, one of a boy from Irish town in upper St. Andrew leaving his local school in Redlight, two miles away, to travel nearly ten miles to a Catholic primary school in Gordonstown - fare ten to fifteen cents for each journey. The other of one girl from the family of a small farmer in Manchester, travelling nine miles each way from Huntley to High school in Mandeville, fares sixty cents daily. In addition to this were charges for school meals six cents daily, uniform and shoes ten

(1) Emoloyment and unemployment in Jamaica . P.R.E.A.L.C. p 13

Jamaican dollars, book charges an average of fourteen Jamaican dollars, including school bag, for Junior Secondary pupils. High school books would cost several times as much. Games fees were two Jamaican dollars and games uniform more than six dollars. As an investment from the returns on cash crop farming this can only be regarded with awe. The pupils on whose behalf such efforts are made are not likely to be blasé about education.

State Schools

Public concern over education begins in the island with the growth of pre-school provision in the form of the 'Basic school' movement. Intended to offer the possible benefits of a kind of nursery education it has grown, and is growing partly due to the interest and assistance of overseas funding, but principally as a result of Jamaican endeavour, at all levels. However,

"the pre-school child who starts with a language handicap also comes from a social environment with limited intellectual stimuli and is psychologically as well as cognitively unprepared for the process of formal education." (Rubin)(1)

Since the principal proportion of schools comprise the primary, all-age and first cycle secondary schools, and since these represent the avenue for education for the masses, some of the social deficits noted for pre-school pupils above apply in varying degree to school populations within the statutory age ranges. Nevertheless, the schools, in whatever position or condition, have for parents the capacity to create opportunity for their children. Rubin expressed the position:

"Education as an investment towards long-range goals as a part of a series of middle class compulsives may be an ideal achievement value but stems from a special set of existential circumstances which peasant and lower-class families have not experienced. Nevertheless, the drive to education is intense, is usually correlated with upward mobility, and where it is achieved, in itself provides socialisation for mobility."(2)

Whatever the causes, and later chapters attempt to examine a range of influences, the schools within these sectors operate under manifold difficulties.

(1) Rubin.V. Op.cit. p.20.

(2) Ibid. p 36

National Literacy Programme.

The heightened awareness of problems associated with lapses in functional literacy, or with the basic issue of illiteracy among the cohorts of Jamaicans for whom school attendance was not a part of life-style, brought about a concerted effort on the part of the government in 1972.

"The National Literacy drive, which was launched as a total assault in 1972, indicates that the bringing together of large numbers of volunteers to teach literacy with those who seek to learn, enriches the experience of both and creates a bond between the two groups of immeasurable social value." (1)

International Loan Programmes.

The all-age and emerging primary schools, despite many new additions in the latter category (the Ministry Performance Report for 1969-70 recognised the contribution made by the Canadian Loan programme, financed on a 50-50 basis by Jamaica and Canada, to build forty primary schools by September 1968 with funding of \$ 600,000 Canadian, and in a second building phase a further sixty-eight primary schools for completion by July 1970 with funding of \$ 950,000 Canadian) operate, whether old or new, under conditions of poor staffing, inadequate facilities and supplies, poor communications and various degrees of overcrowding in classrooms.

To enable expansion of opportunity at secondary level, the Ministry Paper No.73, or New Deal for Education in Independent Jamaica, recognised funding of £ 7 million to build fifty Junior Secondary schools. Again the operation was a joint venture between Jamaica and, in this case, a World Bank Loan of £ 3.4 million. In the event, the escalation of costs pushed the figure beyond this level. A U.S./AID grant of £464,000 was negotiated also for technical aid for Teacher education. Part of the World Bank linked expenditure was also designated to expand Teacher Training facilities, expand the College of Arts, Science and Technology (C.A.S.T.), and the Jamaica School of Agriculture.

(1) Manley, M. The Politics of Change. Andrew Deutsch. 1974. p.158.

FUNCTION AND DYSFUNCTION IN EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITY

Education in Jamaica was traditionally operated as a split-level system with state provided schools for the masses and selective, Denominational Schools for elite groups within the society. It was divided on an age band basis too, in that the selective, denominational and private sector dominated virtually all of academic secondary education. Small numbers of state schools offered correspondingly small cohorts of pupils secondary training of technical or vocational nature. However, since this second group of schools subscribed to goals linked with the development of manual and practical skills their position in a hierarchy of educational attainment was unquestionable, especially in the eyes of parents or intending pupils.

It may be said, with little fear of contradiction, that all schools, with the possible exception of the technical sector noted above, "presented a curriculum based on others designed for urban population in industrial societies"⁽¹⁾ (H. G. Smith, 1960). The significance of this educational practice lies in its association with the dominant colonial culture, initially, and with the intrusion of other 'advanced' cultures during Self government and Independence. Notable among these, of course, is the influence of the North American continent, though the infusion of ethnic group values from Chinese, East Indian and Jewish minorities assimilated in the post-emancipation decades should not be discounted.

Notable also is the dominance of the English 'classical' tradition with its emphasis upon intellectual or professional goals. Hettleford⁽²⁾ comments that the lacks in Jamaica are not conditioned to commercial aspirations - partly culturally and partly by lack of facilities:

"The understandable preoccupation of blacks with respectability and status professions probably kept them out of occupations of profit."

Taken together, these influences conspired to direct and shape the aspirations of generations of black Jamaicans away from their peasant communities and from the land

1) Smith.M.G. Op.cit. p.351.

2) Hettleford, R. "Mirror, Mirror. Identity, race and protest in Jamaica". Collins-Gangster. Jamaica 1970. p. 138.

Aspiration Levels

The ultimate educational goal for the rural, black Jamaican was entry into the Government aided Academic High School sector. In the mid-50's the P.M.F. Government effected partial security of egalitarian aims by the annual award of 4,500 free or 'grant-in-aid' places, in High Schools, for successful candidates in a common entrance examination. In principle it was decreed that opportunity should be open to all social strata and that intellectual merit rather than social status should provide the main basis for entry. Of the 4,500 places, the first 2,000 students would receive free tuition. In 1963 the J.L.P. Government made a further stipulation that seventy per cent of the awards would go to pupils who attended primary schools and thirty per cent to those who attended private preparatory schools. More will be said of the nature of the screening exercise at a later stage. It is its process which merits scrutiny now.

Ministry Paper No. 73⁽¹⁾ disclosed an estimated 1970 Primary school age population of 367,700, existing (1965) school places of 220,000 and a Secondary High school provision for the age ranges 12 - 19 of 24,000 places. High school places projected for completion by 1970, and including Technical and Vocational school, were of the order of 47,000 for the same age ranges.

Heterogeneity of Intake

With a declared policy of equality of educational opportunity it would be seen that with a sponsored intake of upwards of 3,000 pupils from State Primary and all-age schools the population of the Secondary High school sector changed to a more heterogeneous mix, in social class background terms. Miller (1971)⁽²⁾ acknowledged that this shift did in fact take place and that about 40 per cent of students in Government Aided High Schools in the 1960's were Black - a highly significant increase over the proportion of such students in these schools prior to the 1950's. In terms of his assertion that an "emergent" middle class is drawn predominantly from the ranks of Black Jamaican society this reinforced the view that education was an agent of

(1) "New deal for education in Independent Jamaica"
Ministry of Education. Kingston, December 1966. Pt. I. Table II, p. 3.

(2) Miller, E.L. Op.cit. p 60

social mobility but equally made plain the fact that members of the Black working classes did not constitute a proportion of High School ranks commensurate with their numbers in the island population. Miller's analysis gave approximate proportions of 8 per cent of pupils from the Upper (White) stratum, 52 per cent from the Traditional Middle (Brown) stratum, 28 per cent from the Emergent Middle (Black) and 12 per cent from the Black Lower stratum. It should be noted that the percentages related to the situation in Corporate area High schools, but Miller observed that the bulk of the High school population was in these schools and that, with rural high schools boarding urban pupils the overall figures would not differ substantially.

The process of selection adhered to standard practice in the societies from which it had been adopted in that it comprised a battery of tests involving the evaluation of mental ability and competence in reading and number. The use of such standardised testing material in the face of considerable evidence which supported the view that social determinants of educability favour the pupil from a middle or upper class environment was sure to, and did in fact, bring about disproportionate results in social class terms.

Miller further asserted⁽¹⁾ that "Many Traditional middle class parents have adopted strategies which undermine the intention of the 70.30 system". These included registration of their children for the entry examinations as from primary schools while they in fact attended preparatory schools. Others enrolled their children at a primary school for one or more terms before the examination, but following five or six years of attendance at preparatory schools or they supplemented primary school education with private tutelage. Even as disturbing, in the case of parents who were able to pay fees as well in Secondary schools as they had in Primary schools, were the instances whereby it was permitted to re-enter a pupil to translate a 'grant in aid' place to a free place by improving either ranking position in the succeeding year or a better result which achieved the same end.

(1) Ibid. p. 63.

Expansion of Opportunity

Despite considerable expansion in the number of High School places noted earlier, conservative forces both within the system and in the society which it serves have conspired to constrict educational opportunity for Black rural graduates of the Primary and All-age schools. Miller⁽¹⁾ sets out some of the arguments upon which this body of opinion rests its case:

- "(1) The expansion of the middle fifties has resulted in a lowering of academic standards mainly because of the large (sic) influx of children from the lower stratum;
- (2) The situation has been further aggravated by the 70:30 system because of the poor conditions in the Government primary schools;
- (3) Therefore, before there can be any further expansion of high school education there must be a substantial improvement in the quality of primary education in order to prevent any further deterioration in standards in high schools."

This argument, as Miller acknowledges, is so widely accepted in the circles that matter that it is taken as a series of statements of fact and yet it is palpably a "chicken and egg" philosophy. Although as Miller (1969)⁽²⁾ and many others describe, the 1944 parliament changed colour and political power became firmly placed in ~~the~~ black hands the values which summate the 'achievement syndrome' remained the same. Jones,⁽³⁾ discussing American black minority groups, recognised "Articulate Negroes who would agree that some other Negroes are not ready." This highlights the differentials operating between the emergent Black and the relatively static lower Black echelons. Those who are socially mobile are sensitive to the possible erosion of their improved status by increased competition from below. Thus an additional risk in the form of dilution of standards in the very avenue which ensures their climb up the social ladder is accepted as a risk which they will not tolerate.

Even fallacious arguments will suffice. The threat of overwhelming numbers of Lower class children in Secondary High schools has not materialised. In the 1960's these arguments predicated a proportion of 28 per cent of such pupils whereas Miller (1969)⁽⁴⁾ found, in a random sample of Urban High schools, only 14.7 per cent of girls

(1) Ibid. p. 63.

(2) Ibid. p. 91.

(3) Jones, L.W. "The social unreadiness of Negro Youth", Ch. 8 in "Education of the Disadvantaged". Ed. Passow, Goldberg & Tannenbaum. Holt, Rinehart & Winston. Columbia 1967.

(4) Miller E.L. (1969). Op.cit. p.99.

in the first three forms. The argument of lowering standards, based on unassailable evidence of inadequacies in mass education, is partially countered by studies of functional literacy in Jamaica. Reid, Irwin and Jones⁽¹⁾ in 1967 discerned literacy levels of 45 - 50 per cent - from which areas were drawn the miniscule proportion of the year groups who aspired to promotion from Primary to High school. Standards within high schools, it was argued by Miller and others, had not declined, if seen on the basis of performance levels in external examinations in the long term.

The self perpetuating effect of preserving the exclusivity of the high school was seen

- (a) as justification for the enhancement of facilities, staffing and funding of academic education, and
- (b) vindication of the failure to rectify the omissions of Primary education since the two systems were assumed to be mutually exclusive.

The clash in school goals was bound up with the 'functional' nature of the educational process for the State school sector and the 'achievement syndrome' effect of the High school ethos, emphasising as it did academic options rather than the acquisition of practical skills.

Differentials in Opportunity

Figures⁽²⁾ analysed for the purpose of assessing proportionate degrees of success for primary and preparatory school candidates to the common entrance examination disclose further inequalities. These are based on a comparison of State Primary and Private preparatory success ratios and also across the sex differential. Data was available over a ~~three~~^{four} year period as seen in Table XIII .

(1) Ibid. p. 101.

(2) Planning Unit. Ministry of Education. Kingston. 1972.

TABLE XIII

Selective examinations for entry into High Schools
(Jamaica 1967-70)

JUNIOR ENTRANCE		PRIMARY AND ALL-AGE SCHOOLS			PRIVATE SCHOOLS		
		Entrants	Places	%	Entrants	Places	%
1	Boys	6,009	1,323	22.0	1,499	644	44.4
9	Girls	10,826	1,826	16.8	1,749	746	42.6
6							
7	Total	16,835	3,149	18.7	3,248	1,390	43.1
1	Boys	6,225	1,158	18.6	1,424	690	49.15
9	Girls	11,004	1,526	13.8	1,804	713	39.5
6							
8	Total	17,229	2,684	15.5	3,228	1,403	43.4
1	Boys	6,545	1,285	19.8	1,235	664	53.7
9	Girls	12,037	1,269	10.5	1,391	718	51.6
6							
9	Total	18,582	2,554	13.7	2,626	1,382	52.6
1	Boys	6,682	1,390	20.8	1,506	589	39.1
9	Girls	12,353	1,464	11.8	1,954	629	32.1
7							
0	Total	19,035	2,854	14.9	3,460	1,218	35.2

N.B.1. 1970 Year Group 11 - 12 (Grade 6) 49,230 (Boys 23,467, Girls 25,763)

N.B.2. "Places" is a summation of "Full", "Free" and "Grant-in-aid" awards.

It is seen that degrees of success vary widely between the State and the private sector, though two issues merit elaboration. First, the success ratio for primary sector candidates relates only to the pass/fail percentage which involves entrants alone. As noted for the last year of the table, 19,035 candidates were culled out of an age cohort of 49,230. In the case of the Private sector these statistics are literally inaccessible. Even in the year in which the field study was undertaken there was no register of private schools. Despite this inadequacy of base data an assertion is made that the proportion of candidates, who were offered access to the selective examination, was substantially higher than 39 per cent. One can only guess at the

proportion of this age group which consistently gained successful entry ratios above the order of one place in three, occasionally even above the ratio of one place in two.

The allegedly overwhelming numbers of primary school entrants, on the other hand, seen as proportionate parts of the last age cohort had as dismal a chance ratio as 5 per cent for boys and girls alike. Even as successful candidates as a proportion of entrants to the selective process their ratio was consistently of the order of fifty per cent or less than the ratio for candidates from the private sector.

Sex differentials clearly reinforced Manley's⁽¹⁾ finding that social mobility tends to favour the working class girl more than the working class boy. This was borne out by the consistency with which the number of girl candidates exceeded the number of boys. The effect was moderated by institutional forces however in that, since a rough degree of equality exists in the disposition of high school places for each sex, the number of boys sponsored rose in accordance with the number of places made available.

Although parity between the sexes was maintained in this way for enrolment purposes into the high school sector, significant differentials were apparent in the numbers of boys and girls entering the Common Entrance examination. Among candidates from Primary and All-age schools girls predominated, comprising almost two thirds of all entrants in each of the four years: 64%, 63%, 64% and 64% respectively. Corresponding figures for girl entrants from the private sector were 54%, 56%, 53% and 56%.

(1) Manley, D. "Mental ability in Jamaica" S.E.S. Vol 12 No. 1 March 1963.

In the allocation of full awards and free places, out of the total places granted here was parity between the sexes but some slight redress for girl pupils from government schools seemed to occur in the disposition of grant aided places. Here girls secured 64%, 65%, 49% and 52% of awards in the years noted although it seems a fallacious argument to regard this as gainful. Resort to an even allocation between the sexes is standard practice in most societies, since it makes allowance for the earlier maturation of girls and the subsequent catching up on the part of the male students. However, the distribution of fifty per cent of the most remunerative High school places to thirty per cent of the candidates simply because they are boys smacked of a reaction to what has been termed the "over feminisation" of the Jamaican male. This trait, it would appear, applied more particularly to the Black Lower class. In the case of the girl entrants from private preparatory schools, who, as stated were treated equally with boys in the allocation of free and full awards, the share of grant in aid places was 56%, 50%, 55% and 53%.

A conflict of interests is seen also in the pattern of allocation settled by the 0:30 division of places for grant in aid awards. While free places followed this principle, with only minor divergences, the proportions of places which involved parental contribution went somewhat astray.

In the first year for which figures are offered private school boys secured 5.6 per cent of places and girls only 28.3 per cent. In the second year, 1967 - 68 the places went on a 46.5 percentage and 32.7 percentage basis respectively. In 1968/9 boys from private schools gained 32.7 per cent and girls 37.7 per cent. Only in the final year of the four did this allocation revert to the equalising principle with boys being allowed 29.5 per cent and girls 30.1 per cent of grant in aid places. The preceding three years present disturbing evidence which tends to support the allegation made by Miller of overt middle class influence. Similar and equally blatant evidence is found in the proportions of Full Awards. Even though the number of such places was small - 26 in each year - the division was consistently drawn on an 18 - 8 basis which was marginally better for the pupil from a more advantageous background than the proportions suggested by the J.L.P. Ministry.

Technical Entrance

Despite the contention that the more practical and functional ethos of Technical High schools was not held in high favour, a similar pattern was observable there.

TABLE XIV

Selective Examinations for Entry into Technical High Schools ⁽¹⁾

Technical School Entrance		Primary and All-Age Schools			Private Schools		
		Entrants	Places	%	Entrants	Places	%
1	Boys	3,958	372	9.3	245	31	12.6
9	Girls	7,388	370	5.0	374	35	9.3
6							
7	Total	11,346	742	6.5	619	66	10.6
1	Boys	4,177	381	9.1	245	43	17.5
9	Girls	7,903	356	4.5	281	29	10.3
6							
8	Total	12,080	737	6.1	526	72	13.6
1	Boys	4,552	373	8.2	305	47	15.4
9	Girls	8,129	357	4.4	368	35	9.5
6							
9	Total	12,681	730	5.7	673	82	12.1
1	Boys	4,607	400	8.6	253	33	13.0
9	Girls	8,559	375	4.4	409	23	5.6
7							
0	Total	13,166	775	5.8	662	56	8.6

State School Candidates

Although the Technical Entrance examination takes place at a later age - 13+ - and we may assume a more common degree of maturation between the sexes State School girls still provided 67, 65, 64 and 65 per cent of all candidates in the years shown. Again, it is seen, the award of all places was favourable on a proportionate basis to pupils from private schools. The allocation of free places favoured State School male students in that the awards, aggregated over the whole cycle since variance within the period is slight, were 40.6 per cent for boys and 59.4 per cent for girls. In this case girls did not even warrant the doubtful advantage of being offered more grant in full places. Their proportion of part fee-paying awards was 49.4 per cent, 38.7 per cent 5.9 per cent and 46.4 per cent respectively. In the matter of disposition of free and

(1) Abstract from Planning Unit data. Ministry of Education, Kingston, Jamaica, 1972

fee-paying places, and as before taking the cycle as a whole, only 36.5 per cent of successful State school entrants gained free places.

Private School Candidates

Private school entrants went some way towards a reversal of this position with 40.1 per cent gaining free as against fee paying places. The allocation of these places disclosed the following variables. Girl pupils made up a higher proportion of candidates than was the case in High School entrants: 60 per cent, 53 per cent, 55 per cent and 62 per cent but secured consistently smaller numbers of entry places. With no variation in the trend of allocating places to male rather than female students, the proportions for free and grant aided awards were 43.5 per cent and 47 per cent respectively over the four years.

Determinants of Inequality

Many factors contributed to the maintenance of elitist standards, some intimately associated with family structure, some based on the practicalities of status and quality in virtually any society, some attributable to the sheer magnitude of the task of building adequate resources to provide satisfactory education for complete age ranges.

Simey⁽¹⁾ acknowledged at an early stage the effects of a slave heritage upon mental attitudes.

"Sexual satisfaction made a 'good' slave, sexual continence and moral self determination a 'bad' one. But whilst a good mother might be a good slave, a good father was necessarily a bad one the maternal instincts of the mother were an economic asset, but the bearing of responsibility as a husband or a father could only be regarded as a distraction from field labour."

Social class Determinants

Manley⁽²⁾ in his study on Mental Ability posited a social class ranking scale based on six classifications, 1. Professional/Managerial; 2. Teachers; 3. Clerical; 4. Skilled and Semi-skilled manual; 5. Farmers; 6. Unskilled manual, also an "elite" group superordinated. Part of his summary of evidence on measured potential as disclosed by test scores is seen in Table XV

Simey T.S. "Welfare and Planning in the West Indies" Oxford University Press 1946. p. 45.

Manley.D: Op.cit p.59.

TABLE XV (1)

Test Scores related to Social Ranking

<u>Social Ranking</u>	<u>Total Scores</u>
Elite	313.1
1	293.4
2	277.1
3	272.9
4	262.2
5	252.6
6	250.2

Test scores were based upon Moray House Tests, with minor adaptations from 1957; Vernon recommending their replacement by locally standardised objective tests in 1960. Closer analysis predictably revealed that advantageous results in top tiers comprised high scores in verbal ability and abstract reasoning. This ingrained characteristic of the 'achievement syndrome' - a core element of current Sociology of Education theory resulted in the following results from 1957 - 1961.

TABLE XVI (2)

% of entry from each Social Class which obtained Free Places

Elite	66.3
1	45.8
2	16.4
3	18.5
4	9.2
5	2.8
6	4.2

"Thus, free place winning has become a norm in the upper and middle classes while in rural peasant communities the free place winner is an object of wonder."

regional differences.

Hanley also offered comparison on the basis of regional as well as social class influence.

TABLE XVII

Social composition of the entry from each type of school

Type of School	Social Class Ranking					
	1	2	3	4	5	6
Urban High	30.3	6.7	37.1	17.8	7.8	0
Rural High	9.7	4.2	33.3	20.8	23.6	8.3
Urban Private	15.6	5.7	40.2	35.2	0.8	2.5
Rural Private	14.6	0	56.1	19.5	7.3	2.4
Urban Primary	1.7	3.9	32.4	53.5	1.3	7.0
Rural Primary	2.1	5.1	14.7	25.8	37.0	16.1

N.B. Proportions do not add to 100% because of rounding.

1) Ibid. Table B.

2) Ibid. Table 12.

In discussing equality in 1962 Bell⁽¹⁾ made the following observation:

"Anyone who argues that gross inequalities of status and opportunity do not exist in Jamaica today would be flying in the face of the facts Economic and social inequalities are even greater than civil and political inequalities."

He further elaborated the differentials in familiarity with process of law, educational or occupational choice with consistent recognition of the reduction of the power of the lower classes to implement and to realise their nominal rights.

Ebanks⁽²⁾ differentiated internal migration on the basis of regional bases such as age, education, vocational training, industry and occupation.

"Educational facilities in the urban areas of Jamaica, especially Kingston and urban St. Andrew are much more adequate than they are in rural areas In terms of intensity of selection Jamaica as a whole shows greater intensity in selectivity among males with medium and higher education than among females. This is also true for Kingston and lower St. Andrew, but in the rural parishes the intensity of selectivity of males over females decreases."

This study noted low indices of internal migration in rural parishes, notably St. Mary, St. Ann, Portland and St. Catherine, which indicates the slow degree of social progress within the island system. Manley's earlier study had also specified regional variables in intelligence as evidenced by test scores: highest in Kingston, then St. James, St. Catherine and Manchester - all parishes with large urban centres; lowest parishes in this variable were Hanover, St. Thomas and Portland.⁽³⁾

Sex of child

Differentiation on the basis of sex of child was also made in this paper on Mental Ability.⁽⁴⁾

"Sixty per cent of places in High schools are reserved for girls. Only in Private Schools do girls represent as low as forty-eight per cent of the entry."

Again, the examinee degree of progress is indicated by the 1961 observation that girls formed 64 per cent of candidates for Technical school entrance examinations, while the earlier maturation rates of girl candidates as well as the regional variation dealt with above are summarized in the Table shown.⁽⁵⁾

1) Bell, W. "Equality and Attitude of Elites in Jamaica"

J.S.S. Vol 11, No. 4. December 1962, p. 410.

2) Ebanks, G. T. "Internal Migration Differentials in Jamaica, 1943 - 1960."

J.S.S. Vol 17, No. 2. June 1968, p. 206.

3) Manley, D. Op.cit. Tab.2.

4) Ibid. p. 59.

5) Ibid. Table 5.

TABLE XVIII

Types of school and test scores of male/female pupils

School	Sex	No. of Pupils	Intelligence Quotient	Number Quotient	Verbal Quotient	Total (Av.)
Urban High	B	27	98.4	95.2	95.7)
	G	62	101.1	98.0	100.4	) 296.4
Rural High	B	29	94.1	96.7	93.6)
	G	43	97.5	94.4	97.7	) 287.8
Urban Private	B	67	94.8	95.8	92.4)
	G	55	95.1	94.3	94.6	) 283.0
Rural Private	B	17	87.2	89.1	87.0)
	G	24	94.4	94.3	91.7	) 273.0
Urban Primary	B	92	90.1	90.4	87.8)
	G	136	92.0	92.8	90.8	) 272.8
Rural Primary	B	425	84.1	88.3	82.5)
	G	753	84.1	86.7	83.8	) 254.1

Manley's data indicates early evidence as may have been noted, of the overt practice of middle class parents and pupils "who take Common Entrance from High School (having) in the previous year gained a Grant-in-aid place and are now hoping to get a full free place."

CHAPTER FOUR.

EARLY CHILDHOOD EDUCATION

There is no directory of institutions for the age group who fall into the 'pre-school' category of the Jamaican population.

"The pre-school population (aged 4 - 6 years) is presently⁽¹⁾ estimated at 200,750 and projected to rise to 207,350 by 1975. The stark realities are that 35% of the current population (70,260) are not now enrolled in any type of institution of learning. Although there are an estimated 2,000 basic schools in Jamaica, at least 40% of that number (800) are sub-standard needing either new buildings or very extensive repairs; equipment is minimal or almost totally lacking in most of them; teachers in the majority of cases are untrained and unfitted for the special educational demands of this group and consequently many of these schools do not now fulfil the criteria which are pre-requisites for Government recognition and concomitant financial assistance."

This statement followed the Budget debate wherein it was reported⁽²⁾ that a survey "showed there were 1950 basic schools, 747 of which were already recognised. The Government would continue to recognise 80 more per year". Evidence subsequently gathered suggested that many other institutions, mainly under private management, might state a claim for inclusion in the total number of basic schools. As stated, only a minority have achieved recognition as a result of attaining appropriate standards in staffing, facilities, tuition and premises.

It should be recognised that the 'basic school' is generally a working-class phenomenon in Jamaica and that it in no way could be confused with the private preparatory schools which provide pre-school training for the children of the middle and upper classes.

Grass Roots Origin

The origin of the 'Basic School' lies in the "Grandmother syndrome" described earlier, and so is characteristic of the grass roots of the island.

- 1) "The education thrust of the 70's". Ministry of Education, Kingston, Jamaica. May, 1973. Part C, para 2.
- 2) "The Daily Gleaner" 18th May 1973.

"The problem for which the basic school provides the answer developed with the introduction of slavery and has grown steadily ever since. This is the problem of young infants left to the care of the aged, the ill or the handicapped while strong mothers laboured in the canefields or in the great house. The abolition of slavery brought release from physical bondage, but the burdensome economic pressures have remained so strong that many mothers are still forced to leave their children during the vital first years of their lives when the children's attitudes and self-images are formed But by the time the two world wars had come and gone, grandmothers and grand-aunts had discovered that they were young enough to earn, and the problem of providing day-care for these pre-school children had become really acute."(1)

The ambivalent aspects of parental responsibility were a part of the stimulus to institute and develop such schools. On one hand the low, or zero income status of the average family precluded a number of possibilities; abysmally low housing standards meant lack of space, large family size led to low nutrition (in many cases, malnutrition) the struggle for even a subsistence life-style meant few possessions which almost automatically eliminated toys or other childish belongings and, as has been pointed out in an earlier chapter, parental contact and control had to be withdrawn for economic reasons. At the same time parental aspirations for their offspring were high, sometimes unrealistically so.

It required people of deep conviction and rare insight to recognise the possibilities which lay dormant within the system of surrogate parenthood. One of the first of these visionaries was the Reverend Henry Ward, who, in 1938 pioneered the opening of a school

"for children of 3 - 6 years of age, in Islington, St. Mary. He reports that:

- (i) In the Islington district of St. Mary, there were scores of children left unprotected, running along the streets while their parents went to work. It was a pathetic picture with dangerous possibilities
- (ii) The situation was a challenge and we felt that something should be done. It was quickly decided that a school should be started for children of 3 - 6 years of age. We were

) Prescod, Sybil, "Early childhood Education in Jamaica" Torch - Journal of the Ministry of Education, Jamaica Vol. 20, Nos. 2 and 3, Summer & Christmas, 1970.

generously assisted by one of the leading ladies in the community who placed at our disposal two rooms of her house. The late Mrs. Ward went round collecting funds for the purchase of necessary furnishings and appliances. The school started with about 50 children with Mrs. Adline Clarke, enthusiastic and musical as the teacher.

- (iii) The programme included catchy little choruses, interesting Bible stories, talks about children's pets and other family objects, also the first steps in reading, writing and number work.
- (iv) Feeling that a need for this kind of work existed throughout the length and breadth of the island, we presented from our place in the Board of Education a resolution asking that Play Centres - now Basic Schools - be incorporated in our programme of Education. The resolution was adopted and a committee set up to make recommendations for the schemes.

The story in quotations 1 - 4 above could be told of about 80% of the schools which were started every year since 1938."⁽¹⁾

The Basic School

Between this small beginning and the development of the Basic School movement as an organised pattern incorporating both child welfare and educational principles governing the cognitive and affective development of the pupils lay a train of negotiations and discussions at official and unofficial levels. One of these, the Ward Committee of April 1941, appointed to 'investigate and report on the feasibility of incorporating Play Centres (now Basic Schools) in our programme of education', recognising the plight of the children whose neglected conditions had the effect of reducing their potentialities on reaching school age, recommended basic requirements for the implementation of Play Centres as a pre-school facility. These included qualified 'Play Leaders', scope of activities, optimum facilities and equipment for such centres.

It was not until 1946 that the recommendations were implemented under the auspices of the Colonial Development and Welfare Scheme. The necessity for this source of support is indicated by the following official statement -

Grant, D.R.B.,

(1) P.E.C.E. Triennial Report 1966 - 1969, p 9.

"On official grounds the general assumption of the responsibility of the Government for the early care of children below school age would greatly reduce the possibility of meeting its responsibility to children of school age this is primarily the responsibility of the parents, or in their default or inability to meet it, of the local community."(1)

This recognition of the slender nature of the country's economic resources led to the original, and enduring, pattern of sponsorship of the Basic School. Self-generating schemes were the norm of the day and only a modicum of financial aid and Government supervision were possible. Yet within the next six years the number of 'recognised' schools or infant centres had risen to 147, necessitating the appointment by the Education Department, of the first Supervisor for Basic Schools in October 1952. Until 1956 the situation continued as a flexible relationship between schools and Government but in 1957 the Code of Regulations for Schools of the Education Department was extended to include 'recognised' Basic Schools. At that time two supervisors were in operation and the total number of schools or infant centres had risen to 362.

Community Support

During the period of growth sponsors included the Land Settlement Associations, the Jamaica Welfare Commission, The Council of Voluntary Social Services (who provided the first organised 'open door' Basic School Teachers' course in 1952) and the Jamaican Federation of Women. In February 1953, a Department sponsored three-day training course attracted one hundred and fifty-four teachers from the existing schools which then included 161 Government 'recognised' Basic Schools. Throughout the decade of the 1950's the Film Unit of the Education Department, in co-operation with the Social Welfare Commission showed films such as "You can help your children" in all parts of the island, thus stimulating interest and encouraging practical efforts to expand the system, with special emphasis upon efficient management, stabilising the school fee system and community support.

1) Annual report of the Education Department, 1/4/45 - 31/3/46

By the mid 50's the existing pattern of sponsorship had emerged and by its nature and variety posed problems of some substance. The means by which these difficulties were handled indicated the measure of resourcefulness and energy which is so characteristic of the Basic School Movement. Even later in the day official comment reiterated earlier attitudes on Governmental responsibility for pre-school provision

"While recognising the importance of starting children at an early age, the Government is unable at the moment to undertake very substantial expansion in the field of infant education; but will continue its policy of modest expansion for the time being and of co-operation with the private sector"(1)

This statement together with the demography of the Basic School, as set out in the preface to the Triennial Report are worth bearing in mind as one considers the origin, development and potential of the Project for Early Childhood Education (P.E.C.E.): the physical situation is described in the Proposals for P.E.C.E.

"There are some 130,000 children of 4 - 6 years of age in Jamaica (population 1.8 million). It is not yet the policy of the Government to provide education for children below the age of 6½ though there are actually about 9,000 children in 32 Government provided Infant schools and Infant departments of Primary schools. A smaller number, perhaps 3,000 are educated in good private preparatory or infant schools, whose fees are within the reach only of parents in the middle and upper income brackets.

An unknown number approaching 30,000, attend what are called Basic schools and Infant centres. The Ministry of Education defines an Infant Centre as a school which is within the radius of two miles from the nearest Primary School and is attended by children of 4 - 7 years of age. A Basic school is defined as a school which is two miles or more from the nearest Primary school and is attended by children of 4 - 8 years of age.

These schools are sponsored by churches, national civic organisations, by local community groups or by individuals. Such a school may qualify for a Government grant of between \$50 and \$100 a year if it reaches a given size and standard of equipment, etc. Upwards of 500 schools receive such grants.

(1) Ministry Paper No. 73 'New Deal for Education' Part II p 21
Ministry of Education, Kingston, Jamaica, December 1965.

"Parents pay small fees as low as sixpence or a shilling a week, and the teachers have difficulty in collecting them. Consequently, the teachers' salaries are very low, some as low as \$2 a month, and of head teachers somewhat more. The highest paid head teacher, under the Save the Children Fund, receives a salary of \$20 per month. She is in charge of a school of 200, and herself teaches a class of 80. These classes are usually very large and the teachers, older women or young girls, marginally educated and untrained

The most the Ministry expects to be able to do by way of extending the system downwards is to reduce the threshold of admission to the Primary school from $6\frac{1}{2}$ years to 5 years. It also proposes to increase the annual sum out of which grants are made to Basic Schools (not exceeding \$100 each) from \$40,000 to \$65,000 by 1970 thus adding in five years another 250 schools to the 400 odd already in receipt of grants."(1)

Project for Early Childhood Education (P.E.C.E.)

The origin of pre-school provision in 1938 signified the readiness of sections of the society to uphold, protect or sponsor the interests of those less fortunate. It was significant that this awareness; and its outcomes; became apparent in a community under colonial rule, progressed, albeit slowly, during the transition from dependent to self-governing status and was maintained by a community beset by the trauma; induced in all emerging nations; of newly won Independence. It is felt that this stage of development in the Educational system of the island is all the more meritorious because it has been retained as an operational undertaking despite the competing claims of other sectors of provision. The additional claim that its contribution to the educational process not only permits but enhances subsequent development is one which is in contention. The crude mechanics of political expediency and the sadly characteristic attitude of indifference to the claims made for the educational institution in modern societies conspired in countries more advanced than Jamaica to postpone or effectively reject such beliefs. Educational provision for this age may be compared in Jamaica with the U.K., where, despite the familiarity with the philosophy and principles of educators such as Froebel and Montessori, the implementation of the relevant section

-) 'Project for Early Childhood Education. Proposals for Training and Research for the benefit of the Disadvantaged child in Jamaica.' University of the West Indies Institute of Education. 10th Dec. 1965.

f the 1944 Education Act⁽¹⁾ proceeded at a leisurely pace in the fierce competition for Ministerial funds.

"In 1963, the Institute of Education of the U.W.I. entered the arena and began to provide teaching staff for the courses being run by the Council of Voluntary Social Services. Soon a more scientific pattern of training began to emerge, although this was of necessity limited by lack of funds"(2) (Prescod).

Following intervention by the Peace Corps Volunteers and Miss Barbara Friestman, former head of the Demonstration school of the Froebel Institute the Director of the Institute at Mona secured the interest of the Bernard Van Leer Foundation which agreed to fund the scheme, initially, by channelling funds through the Bernard Van Leer Foundation of Jamaica whose board was under the able direction of D. R. B. Grant assisted mainly by local members. The 1966 Project, funded for three years had a three-fold objective. The Project was required to:

- (a) Define a suitable curriculum for the age group 4 - 6 years.
- (b) Design the aids to make this curriculum effective.
- (c) Design a method of training the basic school teachers on their jobs.

Following the initial grant an extension of funding was made by the Van Leer Foundation for another three year period.

"From 1966 to 1970 the Project has received co-operation from the Government. Its staff of supervisors and teacher-trainers consists of experienced Early Childhood Education teachers who are on secondment from the island's primary schools. The Project has used the 'recognised' Basic schools in the four eastern parishes of the island for research and experimentation. The number of recognised schools in the island has increased from 161 in 1953 to 556 in March 1970."(3) (Prescod).

Details of the scope and progress of the Basic School movement which follow are culled from research reports made available at the F.E.C.E. Centre, Mona Campus.

-) 1944 Education Act Pt II, Sec. 8 (2) "A local authority shall, in particular have regard ...
- (b) to the need for securing that provision is made for pupils who have not attained the age of five years by the provision of nursery schools, or, where the authority considers the provision of such schools to be inexpedient, by the provision of nursery classes in other schools".

) Prescod.S. Op.cit. p 17.

) Ibid p 18

This has been defined under five headings by Waters and Bruinsma⁽¹⁾

- (a) Private, i.e., in which Teacher has overall responsibility.
- (b) Church sponsored: either Church run and organised - or Church supplying premises and little else.
- (c) Organisation sponsored.
- (d) School sponsored, i.e., under auspices of nearby primary school.
- (e) Community sponsored.

In almost 500 schools in the four eastern parishes which were served by the P.E.C.E. project, the following sponsorship pattern was observed⁽²⁾

'Basic Schools' by Type of Sponsorship

	(a)	(b)	(c)	(d)	(e)
Government Aided	3	17	14	0	45
Non-Government Aided	287	69	5	2	16

Educational Programme

The P.E.C.E. Programme was directed at five points:

- "(a) The teacher, with emphasis on changing her teaching techniques, promoting her image and altering her expectations, and building a reference system common to her and her 'help agents' - the Project staff and the Peace Corps volunteers.
- (b) The children, with special reference to their life style, their experiences and their cognitive and affective developmental needs.
- (c) The curriculum (content, methods, materials) with provision for growth centred teaching-learning activities "that compensate for the experiential gaps of the pupils, and maintain a balance between remedial experiences and 'development tasks'".
- (d) The community, with particular reference to the involvement of parents, sponsoring bodies of Basic Schools and voluntary and social organisations, in the improvement and expansion of Basic School facilities.

1) Waters E and Bruinsma J. "Reports of the Research studies on the effectiveness of the Project for Early Childhood Education (1967 - 1969)" CVan Leer/P.E.C.E., Mona, Kingston, Jamaica. 1971. Abstract Tab. 5 Section A.1.

2) Ibid p 37. Abstract - Table 1.

- "(e) The research and evaluation of the effect and influence of P.E.C.E. on (a) the teachers, (b) the pupils and (c) the community."(1)

School size

This ranged from fifty eight schools having an enrolment of 25 or less to one school having an enrolment of 300 plus, a total of 475 schools catering for a population of 33,000 pupils. The average enrolment size was 69, but urban/rural differentials were apparent. In Kingston and St. Andrew parishes, predominantly urban/metropolitan, the enrolment figures were 81 and 78 respectively, whereas in Portland and St. Thomas, mainly rural parishes, the figures were 48 and 56. It was noted in the resume that teachers reported 75 - 80% attendance. On Class size an average of 43.55 was noted with wide variances between types of sponsored school; thus fifty one schools have twenty pupils or less per teacher while five schools have over 120 pupils per teacher.

TABLE XIX

'Basic Schools': Class size - by type of sponsorship (2) (Waters & Bruinsma)

Pupils per teacher	Type of sponsorship					Total
	(a)	(b)	(c)	(d)	(e)	
11+	31	14	1	1	4	51
21+	62	18	2	-	12	94
31+	60	17	3	-	13	93
41+	44	9	4	-	8	65
51+	34	11	5	1	13	64
61+	18	5	2	-	7	32
71+	15	4	1	-	1	21
81+	8	1	-	-	2	11
91+	4	1	-	-	-	5
101+	3	1	-	-	-	4
111+	-	-	1	-	1	2
121+	-	1	-	-	-	1
131+	-	-	-	-	-	-
141+	3	1	-	-	-	4

Further research indicated the variance between parishes within the area of the P.E.C.E. project:

Gerberich, J.R. "A resume of research studies on the effectiveness of the P.E.C.E.

Intro - p iii/iv

1970.

Waters & Bruinsma.

Opdt., Abstract Tab. 5, Section A/1.

TABLE XX

Pupils per teacher in Basic Schools in four eastern parishes. (1)

Pupils per teacher	Parish				Total
	Kingston	St. Andrew	St. Thomas	Portland	
11 - 20	10	21	4	16	51
21 - 30	10	54	15	15	94
31 - 60	22	112	48	40	222
61 - 100	5	49	10	5	69
101 and over	0	9	2	0	11
Number	47	245	79	76	447

In a project which purported a commitment to the interests of the age range these conditions imposed substantial burdens upon the teaching force. An additional facet of the problem was elicited by examination of that group by the research team.

Education of teachers

At the low end of the scale twelve head teachers (allowing that 55 per cent of schools are one-teacher schools and less than two per cent have more than four teachers) and five assistants had reached only Fourth Standard (Grade 4 - age 10/11) and at the other extreme twelve teachers (all Heads, or sole teachers) had attended a Teachers' College. Sixth Standard (Grade 6 - age 12/13) education was modal, although Waters noted

"these age classifications are by no means fixed.
Some students reached standard 6 at the age of 10,
others not until they were 15." (2)

Almost half (47 per cent) of the head teachers and more than half (54 per cent) of the assistants had had no more than primary education. In the mid range 34 per cent of head teachers and 32 per cent of assistants had passed qualifying examinations but never beyond the old Preliminary of the Jamaica 1st or 2nd Local. The top group comprised 19 per cent of heads and 14 per cent of assistants who had passed the 3rd Jamaica Local, or one of the higher examinations or had attended Teachers' College.

Teaching Experience

Eleven per cent of head teachers and fifty per cent of assistants had been teaching for one year or less at the time of the inquiry. However, in the Corporate area

1) Waters, E. & Bruinsma, J.
Op. cit., pt 19, Abstract - Table 5.

2) Ibid., p 21, footnote 5.

most thirty per cent of head teachers had over fifteen years experience. It should be stressed, however, that P.E.C.E. is basically an in-service teacher-training programme. It is intended to expand the scope of the exercise on an island-wide basis via the projected Foundation for National Early Childhood Education (N.E.C.E.).

In an earlier summary of findings Gerberich⁽¹⁾ had also taken note of analysis of remuneration for teachers in Basic schools.

"Average salaries per week were £2 8s. for all head teachers and £1 19s. for all assistant teachers nearly a fourth of all teachers received a salary of less than £1 per week. Pay of £4 per week was quite rare with 16 per cent of head teachers and 5 per cent of assistant teachers being so remunerated."

Of this latter group only three per cent of all head teachers received salaries in excess of £6 per week. Teachers in organisation sponsored schools generally obtained higher salary than their counterparts in privately sponsored schools though the difference was not great.

School fees

"One of the interesting and perhaps little appreciated characteristics of Basic schools in Jamaica is that they are all fee-paying institutions." Waters/Bruinsma.⁽²⁾

The median fee was 1s. 8d. per week but this varied from community to community and also by type of sponsorship. Interestingly enough, in the light of the previous comment on teachers' salaries, privately sponsored school fees were 1s. 11d. as compared with 1s. 3d. in those community or organisation sponsored. Fees varied according to factors such as the age of the child, the number of children per family attending the school, but most significantly, the ability to pay. Thus average weekly fees in the Corporate area were 2s. 5d. as compared with 1s. in the towns and 9½d. in estate and rural areas. Fee collection also varied. On the teachers' definition of "one or less regular payment" percentages varied from 52 per cent in Portland and fifty five per cent in St. Thomas to sixty four and sixty six per cent in St. Andrew and Kingston respectively.

¹ Gerberich J.R. "A resume of research studies on the effectiveness of the Project for Early Childhood Education" 1970. Van Leer/PECE, Mona, Kingston, Jamaica, Waters & Bruinsma. Op.cit. p 18. Ch. 2, p 31/2.

Conditions in the Basic Schools

Within the schools space for the numbers of pupils involved was inadequate. In the schools studied by the P.S.C.E. researchers the average space per child was .9 square feet, ranging from two square feet in 36 schools to more than twenty square feet in 38 other schools; or ten per cent at each end of the scale of schools covered by the project. Waters observed:

"Clearly this imposes restrictions on the type of programme that can be initiated in the schools. The freedom of movement recommended by educators for pre-primary age children cannot exist under such space limitations Not only is the space allowance in basic schools much less than the perhaps unrealistic recommendations of educators in metropolitan countries, it is also below the minimum figure of eight feet per pupil which has been set by the Ministry of Education for primary schools."⁽¹⁾

Seating for all pupils was adequate in only forty per cent of schools, privately sponsored schools again being less well endowed than the community or organisation sponsored. Sixty one per cent of schools were judged by observers to have inadequate, or non-existent outdoor space.

Only sixteen per cent of schools in the study had P.T.A.'s. Waters concluded that,

"Close relationships between parents and the schools are still an unfulfilled promise a very small number of parents help out in any way in the Basic schools which their children attend."⁽²⁾

Government aid was almost as meagre being granted to only seventeen per cent of the schools: only one per cent of private schools were included in this group. Waters summarised several major aspects of the findings,

"The picture of the Basic Schools which emerges from this report is not altogether a happy one it is possible to generalise and identify certain positive and negative elements. On the positive side we see the teachers. Hopefully the interest and dedication of most of them shines through the often cold statistics about them. Thus the report showed that a sixth standard education is most typical and a weekly salary of 32. 8s. is average. It did not show that despite these handicaps many teachers voluntarily give up their own time to attend workshops and prepare materials."⁽³⁾

Waters E. "Profile of the Basic schools in the four Eastern Parishes."
Van Leer/DECE, Mona, Kingston, Jamaica, 1968, p 7.

Ibid. p 17.

Ibid. p 19.

ilities and teaching resources.

Facilities within the schools presaged further difficulty. Of all recognised schools, in the four eastern parishes supported by the Van Leer project, seventy seven per cent had Blackboards, although urban parishes were more favoured in this. (Portland schools showed only 27 per cent). Only four per cent of private schools and seventeen per cent of all other sponsored schools had bulletin boards. Of all schools only one sixth had a work-surface for each child: in this respect sponsored schools (twenty four per cent) were more favoured than private (thirteen per cent).

Latrines were available in ninety per cent of all schools and running water in twenty four per cent, though urban location here was again favourable. (Portland schools only twenty seven per cent.)

A supply of electricity was present in most Corporate area schools and absent in most rural areas. Another aspect that was investigated was that of school lunches.

"It was shown that on the average the schools are unable to make a meal that is adequate in terms of protein, calories and iron requirements. The consequences of this long-term deficiency for the children's development may be severe, on the physical and mental development of the children."(1)

This comment by Waters and Bruinsma echoes the views of the basic school teachers interviewed,

"whose only suggestion to remedy the situation is . . . more help from the Government."(2)

A major difficulty surrounding any venture into pre-school education is that of supplies and teaching materials, although the question of objectives, which dictates a choice of materials is also of prime importance. On the latter issue attitudes of teachers were probed from two points of view. Teachers in the project supported schools were given a list of twelve possible objectives to rank. Then they were asked to re-arrange the order of precedence in what they assumed to be the parental view of requirements for basic school pupils. The tables⁽³⁾ reproduced here show that there is little or no correlation between the two.

Waters & Bruinsma.

⁽¹⁾ Op.cit. Preface, p x.

⁽²⁾ Ibid. Ch 2 'Lunchtime practices in Basic Schools' p 57.

⁽³⁾ Ibid. Part 1, p 28/9.

TABLE XXIOrder in which Teachers ranked Objectives of Basic School Teaching

	Percentage of teachers supporting
1. To develop a desire to learn	16.7
2. To get along with other children	13.0
3. To feel comfortable at school	12.2
4. To obey the teacher	12.1
5. To read	10.5
6. To say the alphabet	8.8
7. To write their names	5.6
8. To do sums	5.1
9. To play games	4.5
10. To write (generally)	4.1
11. To recite	4.0
12. To learn the times tables	3.4

TABLE XXIIOrder in which Teachers ranked Objectives they
believe Parents have for their children in Basic Schools

	Percentage of teachers supporting
1. To read	22.7
2. To do sums	12.1
3. To write their names	11.3
4. To write (generally)	11.1
5. To say the alphabet	10.9
6. To develop a desire to learn	6.7
7. To obey the teacher	6.3
8. To feel comfortable in school	5.8
9. To recite	5.1
10. To do the times table	3.7
11. To get along with other children	3.5
12. To play games	.8

In view of the previous section on school fees it will be seen that parental views carried much weight and had the effect of curbing teacher initiative in the adoption of "new methods". Observations in many schools suggested that teachers tailored their programmes to meet the perceived needs of parents, partly by sending them home with more homework on slate or exercise book.

In 1968, sample Project schools, together with a smaller group of non-Project schools, were observed in urban and rural settings with the aim of exploring curriculum content, materials, practices and needs.⁽¹⁾ Hypotheses which seemed to be borne out by the evidence prompted data across a range of characteristics.

(1) Ibid. Section B 3. "Teaching-learning activities in Basic Schools."

The individual needs of pupils appeared to be of more concern in the Project schools than in the non-project schools, teachers relying, for example, more on single response than on chorus answers. The teachers were more concerned to devise curriculum content appropriate to the needs of their pupils and to vary techniques so as to ensure appropriate single responses from individuals as opposed to the more formal approach of the non project school teachers who stood by the chorus type answer and who tended not to direct particular questions to particular children. The project school children seemed, as a result, to be more spontaneous though claims were offered that this did not lead to indiscipline. Indeed there appeared to be more evidence of discipline problems and much harsher methods of control in the non-project classes.

Materials for free activity were more apparent in Project schools. No data was collected for non-project schools since, apart from one set of blocks and one shop corner (both of which had disappeared by the end of the study) no such material was observable during the academic year. While it was not possible to judge accurately either frequency of use or adequacy of supply in relation to the size of classes involved most project schools boasted reading matter and material for painting or drawing. More than half of the rural schools and roughly half the urban schools had lottoes, Blocks and a shop corner. Jigsaws were found in three-quarters, at least, of the urban schools and in only half of the rural while dolls were seen in half the urban schools and in less than a quarter of rural schools. Plants were more in evidence in rural settings, though only in half the schools and in only about a third of urban schools. Sand trays were seen in twice as many rural as urban schools though only in half the former, and were little used in either case. Pets, dressing up materials and toy cars were little in evidence. A feature of the evidence collected in this study was that the number of some items dwindled during the year in question. Dolls, cars and pets appeared to be the most vulnerable though in fairness it should be stated that stocks of Lottoes, jigsaws and plants seemed to accumulate between the beginning and end of the year.

There was more, and a larger variety, of teacher-pupil interaction in the Project schools with more supportive attitudes on the part of the teachers than was found in the non-project schools.

Curriculum content was seen as being very appropriate to the needs of five, and less than five year olds in both urban and rural project schools whereas it was seen to be considerably beyond the pupils' grasp in non-project schools, consisting mainly of formal reading, spelling and arithmetic. Even project schools where staff did not follow the designed programme were found to fall back on the old formal 3 R's on occasion. Stress was laid on the regularity of the supply of curriculum guides either from P.E.C. directly or through workshop sessions with teacher-trainers.

Wall charts and paper, pencils, slates or exercise books were in sufficient quantity in most of the project schools, though the use of wall charts seemed much more regular in rural than in urban schools.

"The Project spends vast amounts of time and efforts, and to a lesser degree money, in equipping its schools."⁽¹⁾ (Waters & Bruinsma)

This was apparent in the small number of basic schools seen in 1972 - 73 and these were not in the eastern parishes except for one in Portland where the community had just built a 'centre', part of which was designated for future use as their basic school. Even the makeshift school so displaced had its ramshackle walls covered by a child's wonderland of colourful charts and pupils' work. It had its own shop, "clinic and garden. Mostly community sponsored schools seen in St. James and Westmoreland bore out much of the evidence previously summarised. On reclaimed land outside the parish capital the last mentioned schools permitted examination of one private establishment, in a 'yard', formal in many ways and possessed, unfortunately, of many of the 'non-project' school characteristics listed above. The sole teacher, however, was a woman of many years experience whose efforts were held in high esteem both by parents and the local Basic Schools co-ordinator. The other school, a purpose built structure with kitchen, very adequate space and facilities was functional and lively, with good out-door space in which was found a tree swing and old tractor tyres for play activity. Two basic school teachers, trained through the assistance of Peace Corps volunteers and attendance at P.E.C.E. workshops, and a part-time assistant looked after forty six four year-olds and twenty eight three year-olds. The community designed and erected building had been completed in 1968 with materials donated by

1) Ibid. p 108.

local merchants at a cost of J\$3,600. Funds collected totalled J\$2,200. Electrical services had been installed on a 'material cost only' basis and local fund raising activities continued to provide revenue. A stand-pipe provided water supply and some food (milk, crackers, eggs) was donated by local suppliers.

Fees, raised to 10c per week, provided a weekly income of J\$4.30 on average - or payment by fifty seven per cent of parents and the teachers' salaries were J\$12 and J\$8 for head and assistant respectively (J\$1 = 50p).

Seating (donated church pews) and large table workspace were adequate for each year group and Black boards and screens provided enough space for display of varied charts, including material for pre-reading and number tuition as preparation for infant school attendance. The local infant school head-teacher was on the Board for this and the private school. There were toys, games and a dressing-up box with which the children were seen to play creatively and imaginatively. By comparison with its neighbouring private school (where the children read for me from Happy Venture Book 3 - fluently but in a recitative style), community effort had brought into fruition many of the aims of the Project.

By comparison, the St. James parish basic school seen - set in a rural hamlet - was in the doldrums. Evidence was there in a local community hall, but without electricity (as was the community), of much material signifying P.E.C.E. workshop advice and expertise. Unfortunately the teacher had left a month previously and the new assistant was not equipped to furnish much information. She was attending Friday workshops in the parish capital.

Progress Report

A longitudinal study comprising 24 research projects⁽¹⁾ throughout the period October 1970 - October 1972 gives some insight into the benefits which may be attributed to the Basic Schools operating with the assistance of the P.E.C.E.

The main agent for assessment of competence and ability of the pupils was the Aldwell Pre-School inventory,

"a test that was developed in the United States in the late 1960's to measure the performance of young children in the various Headstart programmes. It

) Vein N. "Longitudinal Study: Progress report". University of the West Indies School of Education, Van Leer/P.E.C.E. December 1972. p 41 - 44.

was adapted for use in Jamaica in 1968 by revising the language usage and emphasis and relating it to the cultural context of the area. The inventory is made up of four sub-tests - each one measuring some different aspect of the curricula, namely:

- (1) Personal social responsiveness (body knowledge and ability to execute tasks) e.g.,
 - (a) What is your first name?
 - (b) Show me your neck.
 - (c) In a soft voice, say 'Hello'.
 - (d) Put the yellow car on the little box.
- (2) Associative Vocabulary (general knowledge, orientation to the environment and occupations), e.g.,
 - (a) Which (3 drawings) jar has the most water?
 - (b) Which way does water come out of a tap?
(A verbal and motor response gets credit).
 - (c) Where do you find a lion?
 - (d) What does a father do?
- (3) Concept activated numerical (number and position), e.g.,
 - (a) How many eyes do you have?
 - (b) How many wheels does a car have?
 - (c) 2 bottle stoppers and 8 bottle stoppers in two separate piles: which pile has more?
 - (d) 5 bottle stoppers in a row: point to the middle one.
- (4) Concept activated sensory (motor co-ordination, concept formation and colour knowledge), e.g.,
 - (a) A square is shown. Make one.
 - (b) Which (drawing) is most like a stick?
 - (c) Which is heavier, a cement block or a shoe?
 - (d) What colour is this (red crayon shown)?

The four sub-tests scores are summed up to get a total score which is designed to give some indication of the child's overall achievement. The Peabody Picture

Vocabulary Test is an associative ability vocabulary test that was developed in the United States and can be used with four to six year old children Wein⁽¹⁾

The testing schedule was carried out by taking 502 children who were subjected to both tests between January and March 1971 and between May and July 1971 and again between May and July 1972, after finishing two years of Basic school. To facilitate quality in assessment of progress a new second wave of 321 pupils from the same schools were tested in September 1971 and again at the end of the school year between May and July 1972. These pupils were in twenty three out of 240 P.E.C.E. schools, among which sample schools 10 were rated as average exponents of P.E.C.E. methodology and 13 of which were rated as above average. The report makes clear the point that it seemed unavailing to include schools which could be rated as below average since this term in itself confirmed the school's inability to practice or profit from the available expertise and support of the Project. Five further schools were selected to represent non Project Basic schools (all in areas or neighbourhoods identical to Project schools) and an additional four schools representing middle class schools as a second comparison control) group. Listed among the researches contributing to the study were components in pupil selection, age control, examiner bias control.

The findings were based on the three school types (P.E.C.E., Basic, Middle) and also on sex differentials between male and female pupils. Both waves of the P.E.C.E. pupils and the Basic School children scored very similarly in pretesting while the middle class pupils showed a large gain over the other two types at this stage. In addition, Middle class female pupils scored significantly higher than Middle class male pupils at the beginning of basic school age.

Test scores from subsequent applications of both Caldwell and Peabody (PPVT) showed the P.E.C.E. children consistently scoring significantly higher than non-Project children.

"Project children score only from 1 to 8 per cent over non-Project children when they first start the programme and increase their scores 17 to 20 per cent higher after one year in Basic School for all waves of children."(2)

(1) Ibid. p 6/7

(2) Ibid. p 26

Middle class pupils showed a significant gain over P.E.C.E. pupils to the order of 51% and 96% for the Caldwell and PPVT tests respectively at the outset of the study but this lead had been cut by the end of the two year period of Basic school age to 23% and 46% respectively.

"This change suggests that P.E.C.E. children are gaining remedially and compensating for the economic differences in their backgrounds."⁽¹⁾ Wein.

It must be re-emphasised that this research material pertains only to those basic schools which have been sponsored by, assisted or directed by the P.E.C.E. in the four eastern parishes noted previously. The schools included within the project do not comprise all the basic schools in the eastern end of the island, indeed they have been described by the Director of the Project at some length as constituting a 'vertical' development of the philosophy of the Early Childhood Education movement, while an aim which is being pursued concurrently is that of 'horizontal' development which will embrace schools on an island-wide basis. While the new Government shows more interest and identification with the aims of the Project, economic pressures seem certain to limit the extent to which official aid can be made available and in the meantime the growth of the pre-school movement remains subject to the same pattern of sponsorship which has brought it to the present stage and state of fruition.

) Ibid. p 27.

CHAPTER FIVE.PRIMARY EDUCATION

In examining the greater part of the educational system, for the primary and all-age schools still predominate, the following factors are seen as influential, contributory or causal. As noted elsewhere, these influences are seen to have both functional and dysfunctional characteristics. It is recognised, regretfully, that there are for the primary sector many of the second category and relatively few which are favourable.

An attempt is made to examine the effects of

- (a) The influence of religious organisations as agents of the educational process or as sponsors;
- (b) Government intervention; the assumption of responsibility for education as a social service as well as the effects of foreign aid and influence;
- (c) The process of elitism in education, which is seen comparatively, that is to say that its deleterious effects in Jamaica are but repetitions of the patterns in societies from which educational philosophies are copied;
- (d) Conditions in the schools. These are seen as relative to the process of education and the intention is to show how both pupil and teacher are influenced by circumstances which may develop from administrative attitudes, regional, environmental or social factors external to the school, or aspirations, again at both pupil and teacher level.

PRIMARY EDUCATION

TABLE XXIII

Disposition of Schools by Parish, Type and Sponsorship

Parish	1938			1958			1963			
	Denom.	Gov't.	Total	Denom.	Gov't.	Total	Denom.	Gov't.	Total	
	(a)	(b)								
Kingston	26	8	34	15	20	35	14	19	33	P
S. Andrew	31	15	46	24	26	50	24	38	62	
S. Thomas	24	11	35	16	21	37	13	29	42	
Portland	29	16	45	21	24	45	21	25	46	R
S. Mary	51	15	66	33	31	64	31	32	63	
S. Ann	37	25	62	22	40	62	19	46	65	I
Belairmy	16	12	28	10	19	29	9	20	29	M
S. James	22	12	34	10	22	32	8	27	35	
Stover	23	8	31	17	16	33	12	22	34	A
Stmoreland	39	12	51	31	23	54	26	30	56	
S. Elisabeth	61	9	70	50	22	72	36	39	75	R
Manchester	46	16	62	36	22	58	26	32	58	
Strendon	32	30	62	16	50	66	11	69	80	Y
S. Catherine	51	16	67	39	30	69	34	42	76	
	488	205	693	340	366	706	284	470	754	
	1 (e)			34 (c)			69 (a)			
	23 (f)									

(a) Denominational Sponsors: American Christian Church
 Jamaica Baptist Union
 Church in Jamaica (Anglican)
 Church of God
 Disciples of Christ
 Society of Friends
 United Methodist Free Churches
 Moravian Church
 Roman Catholic
 United Church of Jamaica and Grand Cayman
 7th Day Adventists

(b) Denotes: Government-owned, rented or leased

(c) Denominational or Undenominational Trust, incl. three Government

(d) Total includes: 16 Junior Secondary (World Bank)
 2 Comprehensive High (Government)
 6 Technical High (Government)
 5 Vocational Schools (Government)
 40 High Schools (Denominational or Trust)(incl. four Government

(e) One 'Senior' School (Kingston)

(f) Comprising: Two Government, ten 'Trust', eleven Denominational

Sources: Directory of Schools, Dept. of Education, 1938

Directory of Schools, Ministry of Education, 1958

Directory of Schools, 1963, plus J/3 Addendum 63/9, Ministry of Education

(f) Kandell Commission Report, para 33, 3rd November, 1943.

For statistical purposes a major difficulty arises when an examination of the school system commencing in 1938 is attempted. This stems mainly from the fact that the nearest census point was in 1943 (after a gap of twenty two years in the intended pattern of the decennial census): for this reason it is necessary to relate figures from the Schools Directory of the Department of Education for 1938 to the data as set out by Francis⁽¹⁾ and from this date onwards the Schools Directories of the Ministry of Education in 1953 and 1963, the latest set of definitive figures.

The Directory of 1938 covers an island system comprised almost entirely of primary Education, (indeed the Department of Education had no control over the secondary Stage which was then the concern of the Schools Commission). The number of schools had risen to 913 by 1898⁽²⁾ due to

"missionary efforts which were assisted by generous grants from the British Government."⁽³⁾

But with rationalisation of resources and facilities this number had been reduced, by 1938, to a figure of 693 distributed throughout the island as shown in Table No. XXIII. The influence of the various religious foundations was, of course, significant here embodied not only in the sponsorship of the schools but also in the composition of the ranks of school managers. Similarly one may note the preponderance of male influence in this sphere: only five of the incumbents of this role were women, among a total of only 19 lay managers.

Religious influence

Other factors worthy of examination include the influence of the various churches both the impact and implications of international aid programmes (not necessarily aimed at the interests of this school sector) and the contribution made by Government. Table No. XXIV shows (and the point has already been established) that clerical influence figured largely in the establishment of the emergent elementary school system. The transition from Church to State sponsorship need not, it is assumed, be taken to mean an erosion of moral standards nor an anti-clerical move on the part of the establishment

(1) Francis, G.J. 'The people of Modern Jamaica'. Dept. of Statistics, Kingston, Jamaica, 1963.

(2) 'Annual report of the Education Department' 1936. Pt. I, Sec. 2. para. 4.

(3) Ibid.

"An extensive programme of school buildings is projected under the Loans Law of 1935 operations ranged from the erection of entirely new schools to minor repair. Until a large-scale building programme can be undertaken, the situation will continue to give rise to grave anxiety in view of the inability of some of the Churches to keep their schools in repair and the congestion due to the increasing school population."(1)

It is felt that this is more expressive of the increasing regard and demand for educational provision, a claim on the part of the population which the Churches, with their resources limited to voluntary contributions, were unable to meet in the required degree. At the same time, the successive administrations, recognising the validity of the claims made upon them, managed to assume a share of the responsibility, as can be judged by scrutiny of the increase in numbers of Government-owned, rented or leased schools in the Directories of 1958 and 1968.

State intervention

"No longer was education provided as a social service but as an integral part of a programme designed to provide the manpower requirement for the economic development of the country and to inculcate social attitudes considered necessary for the social development of the population."(2)

Recognition, by Government, of the extent and urgency of this need led to the development and flotation of a series of international loans, most notably from the World Bank Fund for Junior Secondary Schools and C.I.D.A. loans for the establishment of expansion programmes in school accommodation, often on the basis of one Government place for one loan place. While these will be dealt with in more detail in subsequent sections it is felt necessary to point out here the consistency with which Government has injected funds into the system to fulfil, or attempt to fulfil this latter aim.

The pre-war, clearly colonial provision of school places was expressive of a view of education as a basic functional commodity. Its purpose, it would seem, was to instruct those members of the populace who were destined to join the labour force of an underdeveloped economy. Enlightenment beyond the level of basic literacy and numeracy was not the business of the primary sector. This was reserved for the minority who were competent to enter, or were sponsored into, the highly selective secondary system and were thus destined to qualify for administrative or executive roles.

) Ibid. Pt. II School Buildings. Sec. I, D, para. 10

) Intro. p. vii. "Master Plan Report: Junior Secondary Programme" 1967.

Terms of elitism

The degree of selectivity is seen in the 1938 column of Table No. XIII, indicating a paucity of places for graduates from the primary schools; and may also be taken as recognition of the fact that Private schools monopolised secondary specialisation. The primary school system could properly be regarded as pertaining to the Black Lower classes and as such it may well have qualified for a sub-title, coined at a later stage by Ian Jackson: "an education system in miniature". Its aims were limited as were the prospects of its school population and it was not until the recognition of education as a mobilising force in societal development led firstly to an expansion of secondary provision and secondly to the establishment of a Common Entrance Examination in 1957 that there was real motivational drive to inspire either pupil or teacher. This is not to decry the efforts of either role incumbent as there are many instances, at both levels, of diligence and devotion and a not inconsiderable number of individuals who have cause to look back on this era with both pride and nostalgia.

Problem areas

The nature of the problems which beset, and still plague the Primary system is such that they may be described partly in terms of educational wastage. The dimensions and characteristics of this difficulty have been set out by Brimer and Pauli.⁽¹⁾ They

"Failure of a system to provide universal education;
failure to recruit children into the system;
failure to hold children within the system;
failure of the system to set appropriate objectives,
and inefficiency in the achievement of objectives."

An example of inappropriate or unreal aspiration is contained in an early dependence Plan.⁽²⁾

"The aim is to achieve 100 per cent literacy at the age of 12 by 1972 The rapid increase in the island's annual birthrate and the present inadequacy of places in Junior schools to take care of the projected annual increase in the number of children between 7 and 15 years of age demand acceleration in the rate of building Junior Schools and Departments. It is estimated that accommodation for 70 per cent of the children will be adequate for those who may enrol and attend regularly. This estimate is based on the assumption that if five children sit in the space provided for four it will not be intolerable although it is not ideal."

-) "Wastage in Education, a World problem" International Bureau of Education, UNESCO 1971.
-) Five year Independence Plan 1963 - 1968 Ministry of Education, Kingston, Jamaica, Ch. 17, p. 159.

These meretricious objectives were laid bare by Sir Philip Sherlock, addressing the Jamaica Teachers' Association six years later. (1)

"The political changes which began with the events of 1938 and ended with Independence witnessed an 'immense effort' to increase the quantity of education and diversify the system but not much had changed with regard to the job expectation of the primary school leaver taking into account the population increase, the general job expectation of the average child in a primary school was no better than it was in 1930."

Apposite opinions upon the state of affairs in the Primary school sector follow, though their dates of delivery bear scrutiny. In the West Indies Commission Report (2), compiled in the late 1930's but published in 1945:

"An examination of the working of the educational system reveals serious inadequacies in almost every respect. There is not nearly enough accommodation for all the children who attend schools; and these include by no means all the children of school age.

Existing accommodation is frequently badly planned and in a chronic state of disrepair and insanitation. Teachers are inadequate in number and are not well paid. Their training is largely defective or non-existent, and far too great reliance is placed on the pupil-teacher system - theoretically a means of training teachers, but all too often simply a means of obtaining cheap staff. Curricula are on the whole ill-adapted to the needs of the large mass of the population and adhere far too closely to models which have become out-of-date in the British practice from which they have been blindly copied."

The Hon. Florizel Glasspole, Minister of Education, speaking to students of Woodbrook High School at their annual prize giving ceremony, on 5th April 1973, included the following statements in his address: (3)

"There had been a rapid deterioration in primary school education the country's primary education was so bad that it was going to need a superhuman effort to lift it 50 per cent of the teachers engaged in primary education were untrained."

-) The Daily Gleaner. 29th January 1969.
-) The Moyne Report. cited in Ch. 10 "A Century of West Indian Education" Gordon, S.C., Longmans, 1963. p. 293.
-) The Daily Gleaner. 6th April 1973.

PRIMARY EDUCATION

A significant outcome of these factors is seen in the poor retention rates for pupils in the senior grades of the state all-age schools, demonstrated in Figure III, the age pyramid being distorted to a diamond pattern also, by inadequacy of provision of school places at the infant school age ranges.

TABLE XXIV

School population: Capacity/Enrolment/Attendance - by types of school.

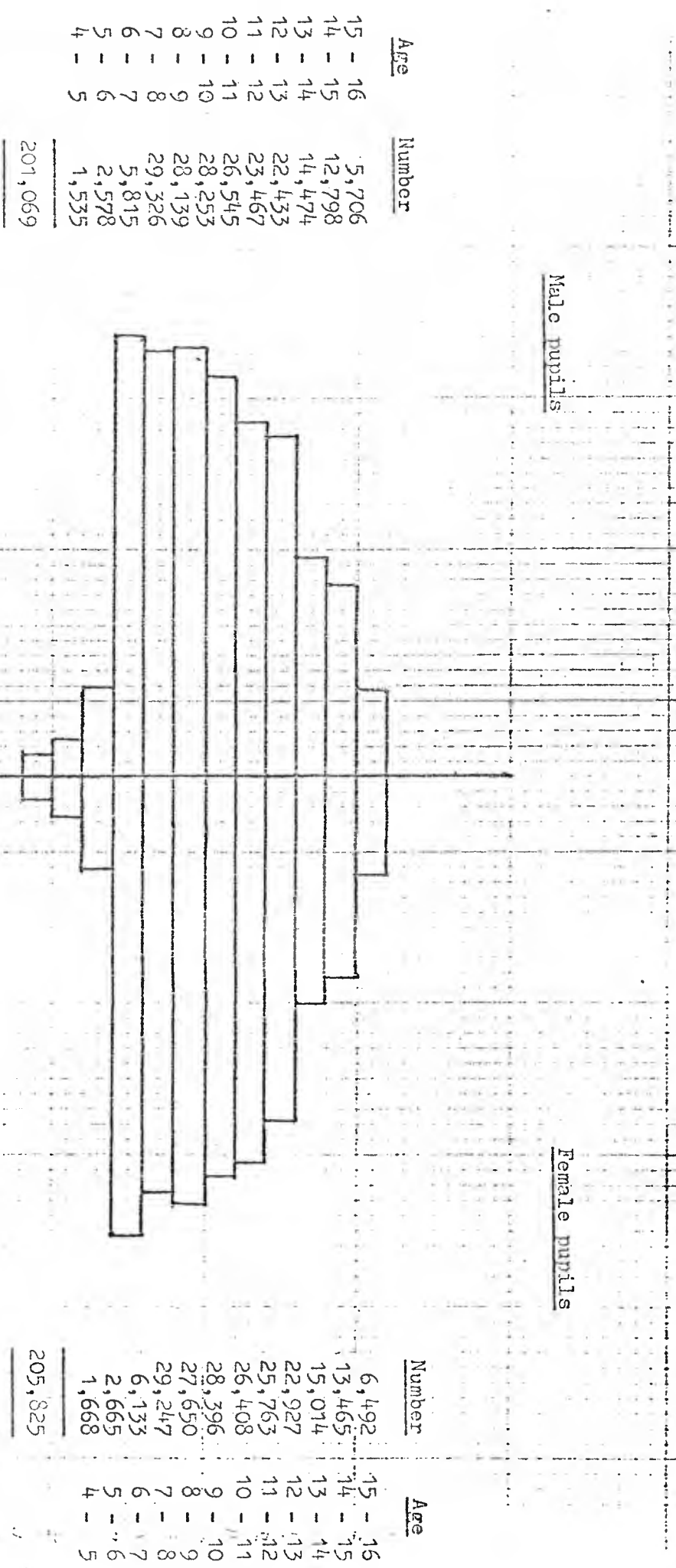
Schools	1938 Dir.			1958 Dir.			1967/68 Dir.		
	Accommodation	Enrolment	Attendance	Accommodation	Enrolment	Attendance	Accommodation	Enrolment	Attendance
Infants	3,806	3,237	3,306	7,599	6,085	6,273	8,376	8,957	6,608
Primary	Both Directories list Schools as 'elementary', with no age differentiation other than Infant Schools or Departments of All-Age Schools.						25,474	41,971	31,953
All-Age							207,072	303,306	191,203
Jun./Sec.	N/A			N/A			12,059	14,019	10,362
High	4,026 * Ø			Priv. Listed 3,247 Pr. Unlisted 1,155 Gov't aided 10,381 Ø			23,830	21,662	Ø
Technical	3,206 Ø			Figures to be clarified from DIR and other sources			2,295	2,571	Ø

* Ranter Commission Par. 45(c) January 1946

Ø For Secondary Schools, Enrolment and Attendance figures are taken to be the same.

FIGURE III

4 - 16 yrs. Age Pyramid: Child population in Jamaica in Government owned or aided schools - year ending September 1970. (1)



he Schools

The All-age school was, and is the backbone of the Primary system, although differentiation between age cohorts developed during the period under review. The 1938 Directory of Schools discloses a miniscule proportion of Infant schools or Infant departments within all-age schools. These were to be found in parish capitals, with only five exceptions in the thirteen extra-metropolitan parishes: Manchester, Westmoreland and the three north coast parishes of St. Ann, St. Mary and Portland boasted Infant schools in urban centres other than the parish capital. Records for St. Thomas and Clarendon parish show no infant provision and in the case of St. Elizabeth, the only infant department was at Malvern, the centre of Moravian Missionary influence in the parish and several miles distant from Santa Cruz, the parish capital.

By 1958 the number of Infant Schools had risen from 20 to 24 and that of Infant Departments had changed from 7 to 6, a moderate rate of progress indeed although one should recall that the expansion in pre-school provision was much more marked and also that Ministry funds were heavily committed to the maintenance of existing facilities. Examination of both population and enrolment figures again indicate the strain under which existing schools were working. While the number of schools showed a small increase, school population had risen considerably Table No. ~~XXIV~~. In addition, the demands upon the schools had increased.

In the late 1960's population figures in the primary and all-age schools had risen to an enrolment of 376,630. ⁽¹⁾

TABLE NO ~~XXV~~

Primary and All-age Schools: Enrolment and Attendance, 1968-69

	Schools	Av. Enrolment	Av. Attendance	Attendance as % of Enrolment
Infant Schools	26	9,296	6,460	70.5
Primary Schools	53	49,029	36,132	73.7
All-age Schools	683	318,305	196,628	61.1
Totals	772	376,630	239,220	63.5

1) 'Performance Report 1969-70'. Ministry of Education, Kingston, Section xiv.

As with the infant schools, urban needs influenced the primary sector. The report disclosed that twenty nine of the fifty three primary junior schools were in Kingston and St. Andrew parishes, and all but four of the others in south coastal, central region or western region parishes with large urban populations. The implications of enrolment and attendance figures are to be explored at a later stage but it seems worthy of note here that the attendance pattern differed to a significant degree between the infant and junior and the all-age schools. Partly, it is assumed, this was attributable to urban differentials and to the developing awareness of educational needs, with parents, if not pupils also, sensitive to the critical relationship between levels of attainment in the junior grades and access to the process of selective entry into the academic high schools. Subsequent examination of year group variables would seem to confirm the 'wastage' syndrome, especially in the all-age sector where pupils' drop out rate increased after the vital opportunities at 11+ and 13+ had passed them by.

The links with Secondary education.

The expansion of secondary provision during this period brought about an increase in the capacity of 33 State-Aided Secondary schools; previously administered by the Schools Commission; which showed an increase from 4,026 in 1944⁽¹⁾ to 10,011 in 1958⁽²⁾. Also listed were 32 Private schools serving a pupil roll of 4,553. This creation of Secondary school places; the reason why Ministry funds were at full stretch; had obvious implications and equally inevitable repercussions upon both principle and practice in the Primary sector. In several senses this post-war decade carries within it the seeds of decline in the Primary field. The status enjoyed by those employed in

(1) The Master Committee Report. 1946. p.9.

(2) 1958 Directory of Schools

secondary education, a sphere enhanced in Jamaican eyes by the presence of expatriates in considerable proportion was one factor which, in relative degree, depressed the condition of the primary school teacher, a small, but marginally increasing number of whom migrated from the existing elementary institutions to fill the new staff quotas in the higher echelon. Naturally, those teachers who made the transition from the primary to secondary field were those who already enjoyed higher qualifications, or who had fashioned for themselves more experience; particularly in subject fields; or were the most ambitious and energetic.

During this period also, a significant number of the most effective members of the primary teaching force were promoted to advisory and inspectorial roles in the ranks of the Education Officers, or had been translated to posts in the Ministry to replace the ranks of the Colonial Civil Service. These inroads do not include wastage caused by staff recruitment on the part of Industry or Commerce, a factor which is seen to have continuing and increasing effect upon the whole structure of education in the island. The further conclusion to be drawn is that the expansion of places in Secondary High schools and Technical High schools tended to drain from the Senior Departments of the All-age schools their most promising pupils.

The hitherto stable atmosphere of the Primary stage of the system was further vitiated by a conscious policy on the part of the administrative body, in the 1960's to give a higher premium to the production of secondary specialists from the Training College instead of replenishing the ranks of the primary schools teachers. (It is easy, with hindsight, to make this kind of comment.)

Conditions of service

In physical terms also the sector suffered. While the numbers had grown, funds had failed to keep pace with multiplying demands. The era of overcrowding, understaffing and not only insufficient, but gradually deteriorating equipment began, bringing with it an erosion of standards which surely and inexorably exerted crippling effects upon the entire primary system. The degree to which the sector had been affected by 1966 - 1967 was the subject of an inquiry undertaken by the J.T.A. ⁽¹⁾

1) Conditions in Primary and All-Age schools with special reference to their effect upon teachers in these Schools J.T.A. Pamphlet 1967.

PRIMARY EDUCATIONTABLE XXVI

Class size: 105 All-age Schools (a)

Class Size	Junior Grades	Senior Grades
60 - 69	104 classes	25 classes
70 - 79	84 "	16 "
80 - 89	68 "	27 "
90 - 99	36 "	10 "
100 and over	43 "	9 "
	355 "	87 "

(a) Total of 947 classes: 655 Junior, 282 Senior

Source: J.T.A. Inquiry 1966/67TABLE XXVII

Working conditions: 105 All-age Schools (a)

Rating	Condition of Building 95/105	Furniture & Equipment 104/105	Sanitation 99/105	Cottage for Principal 103/105	Accommodation for Staff 102/105
A	6	5	3	4	'Easy' 22
B	12	18	18	19	
C	52	51	46	41	'Moderate' 4
D	11	14	23	21	
E	14	6	9	2	'Difficult' 76
				NO Cottage - 16	

(a) 1967/68 Directory shows total 674 Schools

Source: J.T.A. Inquiry 1966/67TABLE XXVIII

Teaching force by category

Primary and First/Second Cycle Secondary (a)

Qualification	Primary and All-Age		Junior Secondary		Secondary High	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Graduate	-	-	56	3.0	916	59.2
Trained	4,466	44.4	1,187	67.5	495	32.0
Interns	863	8.6	302	18.0	38	2.4
Untrained	4,733	47.0	205	11.5	98	6.4
Totals	10,062	100.0	1,750	100.0	1,547	100.0

(a) All 'Recognised' Schools/Institutions: Excluding Basic & Private Schools
 Source: 'The Education Thrust for the 70's: Ministry of Ed'n., Kingston, Jamaica,
 14th May, 1973

ne Principals of 105 schools in thirteen parishes responded to a questionnaire sent out in October 1966. Their disposition is as follows: St. Elisabeth 3; Westmoreland 15; St. Andrew 4; St. James 5; Trelawny 9; St. Ann 3; St. Mary 4; Portland 11; St. Thomas 5; St. George 20; Manchester 10; Kingston 2; St. Andrew 4; St. Catherine NIL.

Class size was noted in 947 classes differentiated between 655 Junior (Grades 1 - 6) and 282 Senior (Grades 7 - 9). At Junior level, 355 classes were in excess of 60 pupils while in the senior grades 87 classes were in excess of 60 pupils. The range in class size is noted in Table No. XXVI.

806 staff members were recognised in the survey. Of these, 347 were untrained, although this number included 230 'P.T.4's' ('Pre-trained' a euphemism for untrained but with the distinction that these teachers have qualifications ranging from passes at 'O' level G.C.E., or the Jamaica School Certificate to the older Jamaica Local Examination), 25 P.T.4's were in charge of classes in the 60 - 100 range. One was in charge of a whole school, though the school was closed shortly after this survey had taken place.

The condition of building and facilities were rated by the committee on a five point scale under the headings shown in Table No. XXVII. The number shown under each section indicates the number of respondents. It indicates also the degree of interest and co-operation on the part of the staff involved. This, together with the moderation of their attitudes suggests that they deserved at the very least a correspondingly constructive and willing attitude on the part of the administration.

"It will be observed that the majority of replies gave 'C' ratings yet subsequent comments did not support (this) e.g., not enough blackboards, no space for library, great need for chairs, cupboards, other storage space, also partition screens for classes".

(J.T.A. Survey)(1)

The conclusion of the committee is repeated verbatim as a genuine expression of Jamaican attitudes to an enduring problem: a disturbing feature is the similarity of many of these findings with the results noted in the author's 1972 - 1973 survey.

(1) Ibid.

"It is obvious therefore that understaffed schools, oversized classes, untrained and inexperienced teachers, substandard buildings, furniture and living accommodation must combine to reduce the effectiveness of the teacher however patriotic and dedicated he may be. The result of all this on the quality of the education received by each child in his care is obvious. In fact, with a class load of over 100 youngsters whether active noisy and curious, or apathetic listless and incurious it must be sometimes quite impossible for some teachers to think of each pupil's individual problems, needs and aspirations. This frustrating situation is bound to damage the self-concept and sense of worth of every sensitive and conscientious teacher. The harm which this in turn might do to the intellectual social and emotional growth of the children in such schools must be considered and so the vicious circle which is our present primary education system continues."⁽¹⁾

Primary School Teachers

A significant development, in reality a side effect of the expansion of opportunity in secondary education, had serious and damaging impact upon the recruitment of candidates for Training College courses. The nature of this process is set out clearly in an Institute of Education report⁽²⁾, but its effect had begun to be felt from the beginning of the 1960's. In its Section (a) 'Recruitment', the report points out that the previous catchment area for these intending students was the Senior Department of the All-age, or elementary school system. The creation of a Common Entrance Examination, which had as an objective the identification of those pupils with the highest potential, produced the classic 'unrecognised, unintended' consequence that it impoverished the senior grades of the all-age schools of much of their talent.

In similar vein, the development from 1966 of the new range of Junior Secondary schools had detrimental effects upon the primary sector. The migration of pupils at Grade 7 took place over a number of years as a result of the time taken to implement the World Bank Master Plan. This process is dealt with in a following section of the survey but what is inescapable at this point is the seriousness of its effect on the all-age school in staffing terms. Where the outlet to the developing secondary High school system had been hedged about by qualification and subject specialism barriers,

1) Ibid.

2) Teacher Education: An Analysis. University of the West Indies Institute of Education Report. August 1971.

recruitment from primary or all-age schools had no such impedimenta. The World Bank went on with its contractual obligations on the part of the Jamaican government to provide trained staff and to ensure an adequate, properly prepared supply of candidates for the new school places. Whereas these obligations were entered into in all good faith, the first proviso meant that the trained teachers recruited must inevitably have denuded both Junior and Senior Departments of the all-age system of much of its potential and also that this, necessarily, would militate against the achievement of the second objective, in successive age cohorts for an indeterminate period. In this way it can be seen that the course of development in other sectors of education has proceeded to the general disadvantage of the primary stage as a whole.

One of the latest pieces of evidence to support such an assumption is the report (1) produced by the new P.N.P. administration, giving a frank appraisal of the parlous state of teacher staffing which obtained in 1972 - 1973. (Table No. XXVIII). To the observer, viewing the development of education during the first ten years of independence it would seem that the erosion of the status of the primary school teacher was almost a pre-requisite to 'progress'. From being a figure whose integrity, behaviour and authority represented solid foundations in the community which he served he has become a functionary; whose non-teaching roles have been taken over by a range of government officials, or local or regional social workers; whose one-time position as the source of knowledge has been eroded by other channels of communication, whose values, even, are decried as the agents of social mobility beckon from above and beyond the primary and all-age school. Early recognition of these changes was given by J.B.C. Hawthorne, Secretary General to the J.T.A. in 1967⁽²⁾. Commenting on the changing values endemic, alas, in most societies today, he outlined Jamaica at one stage of his account

"We boast of being a free and independent people, though perhaps more free than independent. Nature is very kind to us. The sun still shines, the flowers still bloom, there is beauty everywhere -

-) Educational Thrust of the 70's. Ministry of Education, Kingston, May 1973. Appendix II 'Jamaica Teaching Force - By Type of school and qualification of Teacher.
-) The Daily Gleaner 31st December, 1967. "Jamaica - a diagnosis."

"the envy of less favoured lands. There is no open internecine strife. But there is enough of hate, envy, malice, intolerance, dishonesty, mistrust, disrespect, crudity, cruelty and cynicism to make sensitive people stop and think Here then, is my experience: Speak of God and the listeners reply with a shrug and a 'huh', and then lapse into silence; of the church and its ministers and adherents and they say 'As for them!' as though words are too inadequate to describe this breed; of our leaders in politics and government and the immediate response is 'Jinnal, every one 'o dem.' Merchants are crooks, lawyers sharks, doctors soakers, nurses mercenaries, teachers frauds, civil servants parasites, policemen racketeers, drivers roadhogs. Old people, 'Shoulda dead long time!'; Women are 'De wuss t'ing dem'; Children, 'Dem is man and 'oman.'; and appropriate epithets are devised and applied to people of every type and condition."

Primary Schools in Jamaica today

An outline of the findings of the 1972 - 1973 study carried out as the field exercise for this survey follows. As mentioned previously in connection with the summary of findings from the J.T.A. inquiry of 1966 - 1967, my own research brings little solace either to observers or practitioners of the primary sector. Having said this, I feel that I must record my unstinted admiration for the Jamaican teachers who gave so freely of their time and whose frankness and co-operation made the following picture possible.

Staffing - Specialist teachers

Further material on staffing offers depth in the study of teachers of mathematics to grade 7⁽¹⁾ in all-age and Junior Secondary Schools. In part this material indicates the problems endemic in the primary and all-age sectors. It also indicates the previously noted advantages enjoyed by the Junior Secondary specialist. Ying comments that the all-age teachers' commitment is for 40 periods in the week against the J/S specialists' 28 - 32. In the all-age school there are class teachers who teach mathematics within the full range of subjects for which they are responsible and who are obliged to present weekly schemes of work for all subjects.

1) Ying L. 'Investigation into Grade 7 mathematics in All-age and Junior Secondary Schools.' June 1972. U.W.I. B.Ed.Thesis(Unpublished).

The majority of the Junior Secondary teachers in the sample taught mathematics alone, while the rest taught one additional subject. A daily diary of lesson content is required. For the all-age schools the allocation of mathematics within the timetable was of the order of 4 - 5 periods weekly: in the Junior Secondary school it was - 8 periods. The Junior Secondary specialists were members of Departments with heads of department appointed by the Principal on the basis of qualifications and experience, their class sizes ranged from 40 - 55 in new, furnished and partitioned rooms with free desks, chairs and facilities for group work. No math's departments are found in the all-age schools. The Principal 'signed' schemes of work entered by grade 7 teachers who taught groups ranging from 35 - 65 in size, with up to eight classes "Bunched" (in the same teaching area with only chalk boards separating pupils at fixed desks/benches) and with no opportunity for group work.

Little guidance was given by education officers or subject specialists from the Ministry and there was therefore little help in selection of content material for either group. Of the eight Junior Secondary school teachers, seven were trained and the other was an intern, all having a Junior Secondary Training course with mathematics as Optional Subject. Of seven all-age school teachers, five were trained and two untrained, the former as general subject teachers, though all seven did attend two summer courses which catered for the teaching of mathematics from grade 7 to grade 9 (only one Junior Secondary teacher so attended).

As will be seen, other subject areas operated under similar difficulties in the schools observed.

field study material

Much of the data drawn from local studies was based upon examination of urban/metropolitan schools in the Corporate Area (Kingston and lower St. Andrew parishes), mainly, it is assumed, as a result of the degree of mobility and the resources which the U.J.I. in-service students could develop. Because of this and since these would seem to be the original areas from which migration would begin it was decided to attempt to concentrate on schools in the parishes outside the Kingston area. For practical purposes these turned out to be in the central region, including

. Katherine, Clarendon and Manchester; along the North Coast including Trelawny and St. James and in the Western region, including St. Elizabeth and Westmoreland. Among the schools seen were some in plantation areas and some in hill farming regions, some in parish capitals, some at a distance from urban development and one remotely rural all-age school.

The statistics for some were of a transitional nature in that they were a recently translated Junior School, having lost their senior grades to a newly or lately opened Senior Secondary, and others because they were newly developed schools or because they had had extensions to their accommodation within the period from which statistical data was collected. Where possible, funding for additional school places has been noted, i.e., Government finance or Canada loan.

school buildings

A somewhat disturbing feature here was the propensity for overseas funding to bring with it some anachronism. Government-financed extension buildings, for example, tended to use air bricks for light and ventilation purposes, whereas the C.I.D.A. extensions tended to use metal louvred windows, usually of a lighter gauge metal than would seem to be needed, and which were all too prone, as was often seen, to damage and distortion. In one or two cases the type of building erected was of a prefabricated nature (described by one Canadian official as "Those awful barns we used to put up.") which departed in no whit at all from the traditional picture of the one or two room school, destined to house all grades of an all-age school. This stereotype, so prevalent in a number of sources purporting a description of current West Indian educational backgrounds, is on the way out in Jamaica. Within the admittedly small sample of schools seen less than a quarter fell into this classification. Several were of multi-storey, concrete block and air brick construction and nearly half had had extension buildings added within the period from which data was drawn.

capacity, enrolment and attendance

The continuing problems of capacity, enrolment and attendance; staffing and class size are indicated; Tables XXIX - XXXV. In addition to comparison with surveys conducted

a time close to the 1972 - 1973 study, attention is paid to the work of Reid.⁽¹⁾ Taking a sample of 10% of all primary schools, he collated data for all pupils completing the fourth year of Junior school work. This material, almost a complete decade earlier, offers comparable data on attendance: "averages about 60% amongst - 12 year olds, but falls off considerably with older children", and staffing "The vast majority of elementary school teachers have had no formal secondary education."

In 1972 - 73 a total of twenty-five schools was seen, including fourteen all-age, one junior and one infant school. The tables show, in this age range, that capacity and enrolment ratios have been as consistently problematical as enrolment and attendance figures. As will be seen in subsequent chapters, this is a characteristic isolated to this area. Although subject to the tentative approach usually suffered by new entrants, junior secondary schools have been consistently undersubscribed and the high school sector has steadfastly maintained, over a much longer period, small class size and enrolment which in addition to being within capacity has been synonymous with attendance. The pupil fortunate enough to secure a competitive place has not, in general, wasted it.

Figures which were drawn, where available, from the latest Directory of Schools for 1967 - 1968, and subsequently from the school records, showed in the first instance that even within the latter stages of the first Independence Plan demand for places exceeded the supply with both marked regularity, in the parishes where the schools are situated, and increasing pressure between the 1967/8 and the 1971 - 73 school years.

Enrolment

In the case of the junior schools observed the extent of over subscription of places available was, on average, 153 per cent in 1967 - 68, 157 per cent in 1971 - 72 and 145 per cent in 1972 - 73 when the schools were visited. All-age schools were under similar pressure, their figures averaging 193 per cent, 142 per cent and 146 per cent respectively. Allowing that the new Junior Secondary schools are within the system of State provided education, comparison between these, as 'First cycle' secondary

(1) Reid, L.H.C. "The effects of family pattern, length of schooling and other environmental factors on English and basic arithmetic attainment of Jamaican Primary School children." Ph.D Thesis, London, 1964.

TABLE NO. XXIX

Capacity, Enrollment and Attendance in eight Junior Schools, situated in 3 Parishes

	School Directory 1967/68					School Records 1971/72					School Records day visited 1972/73					
	Capacity (a)	Enrollment (b)	(b) as % of (a)	Attendance (c)	(c) as % of (b)	Capacity (a)	Enrollment (b)	(b) as % of (a)	Attendance (c)	(c) as % of (b)	Capacity (a)	Enrollment (b)	(b) as % of (a)	Attendance (c)	(c) as % of (b)	
A Urban denom.	405	827	204	529	64	915	1334	146	845	63	915	1281	140	890	69	Ext'n 1970 CIDA
B Urban Govt.	803	764	95	505	66	580	890	153	563	63	580	895	154	565	63	No conversion/ extension
C Urban	601	1584	264	1024	65	856	1705	199	1162	68	856	1849	216	1270	69	Ext'n 1969, Conv. from all-age.
D Urban	850	956	112	595	62	850	976	115	601	62	700	969	138	626	65	
E Urban	Period of conversion from all-age					-	-	-	-	-	550	770	140	518	67	Ext'n 1965
F Rural	598	742	124	465	63	598	916	153	552	60	625	656	105	546	83	Conv. from all-age 1972: no addition.
G Rural	492	492	109	358	73	data not accessible					452	433	96	285	66	- as above -
H Rural	520	863	166	500	58	400	701	175	420	60	400	691	173	404	58	Conv. from all-age 1969: no addition.

TABLE NO. XXX

Capacity, "Enrollment and Attendance in thirteen All-age Schools, situated in 5 parishes.

School Directory 1967/68						School Records 1971/72						School Records day visited 1972/73					
Schools	Capa city (a)	Enrol ment (b)	(b) as % of (a)	Attend ance (c)	(c) as % of (b)	Capa city (a)	Enrol ment (b)	(b) as % of (a)	Attend ance (c)	(c) as % of (b)	Capa city (a)	Enrol ment (b)	(b) as % of (a)	Attend ance (c)	(c) as % of (b)		
A Urban	400	1237	309	800	65	800	711	89	493	69	800	930	116	657	71		
B "	350	845	241	588	70	1000	913	91	686	75	1000	1040	104	771	74		
C "	n/a	703	-	483	68	1100	1088	99	758	70	1100	1500	136	1114	74	Ext'n 1972	
D Suburban	605	1135	188	697	61	n/a	1190	-	698	59	n/a	1143	-	710	62	Ext'n 1971	
E Rural	175	313	182	240	75	Data not available					300	342	114	250	73	New Sch. 1969 (CIDA) Bldg.	
F "	303	494	165	336	68	300	505	168	338	67	300	578	193	327	57		
G "	-	-	-	-	-	1200	n/a	-	678	-	1200	1274	106	750	59	Built 1971: 80/20% Gov't/CIDA	
H "	500	1033	217	686	63	700	1092	156	665	64	700	1035	148	746	72	Built 1940 - no additions	
I "	220	461	210	317	69	500	774	155	454	59	500	898	180	586	65	Ext'n 1971 CIDA	
J "	160	404	253	245	61	160	477	298	295	62	300	491	164	287	58	Built 1964 No ext'n	
K "	123	245	191	169	69	300	331	110	217	66	300	322	107	181	56	New Sch. 1969 (CIDA) Bldg.	
L "	474	676	143	435	64	474	789	166	464	59	474	793	167	550	69		
M "	400	452	113	279	62	400	391	98	314	80	400	398	99	325	82	Built 1962 (PMP)	
N "	190	206	103	132	64	190	304	160	136	45	190	293	154	n/a	-	Built 1913 Ext 1945	

educational institutions and the senior departments in all-age schools is offered on the basis of Capacity and Enrolment figures by schools. On this count, the average proportion of subscription of places over places available was 96 per cent, 87 per cent and 93 per cent in the school years noted. It must be acknowledged that in each case the number of schools from which this data is drawn was small, but then the number of such schools in operation in the early part of the period under examination was minimal, owing to the timing of the operation known as the "Master Plan".

Attendance

Some improvement in attendance levels was discernible in the few sample schools compared with the figure of 60 per cent noted earlier in Reid's indigenous 10 per cent survey. Average attendance as a proportion of enrolment figures, for junior schools, was 64 per cent in 1967 - 68, 63 per cent in 1971 - 72 and 67.5 per cent in 1972 - 73. All-age schools the same periods showed figures of 66 per cent, 66 per cent and 67 per cent. However, this apparent improvement should not be taken entirely as an indication of increasing stability in the pattern of attendance over the statutory years of schooling. The point may be emphasised by referring again to the accompanying table for grades 7 - 9 in junior secondary schools. The figures there were 77 per cent, 78 per cent and 70 per cent in the periods under discussion.

Daily attendance

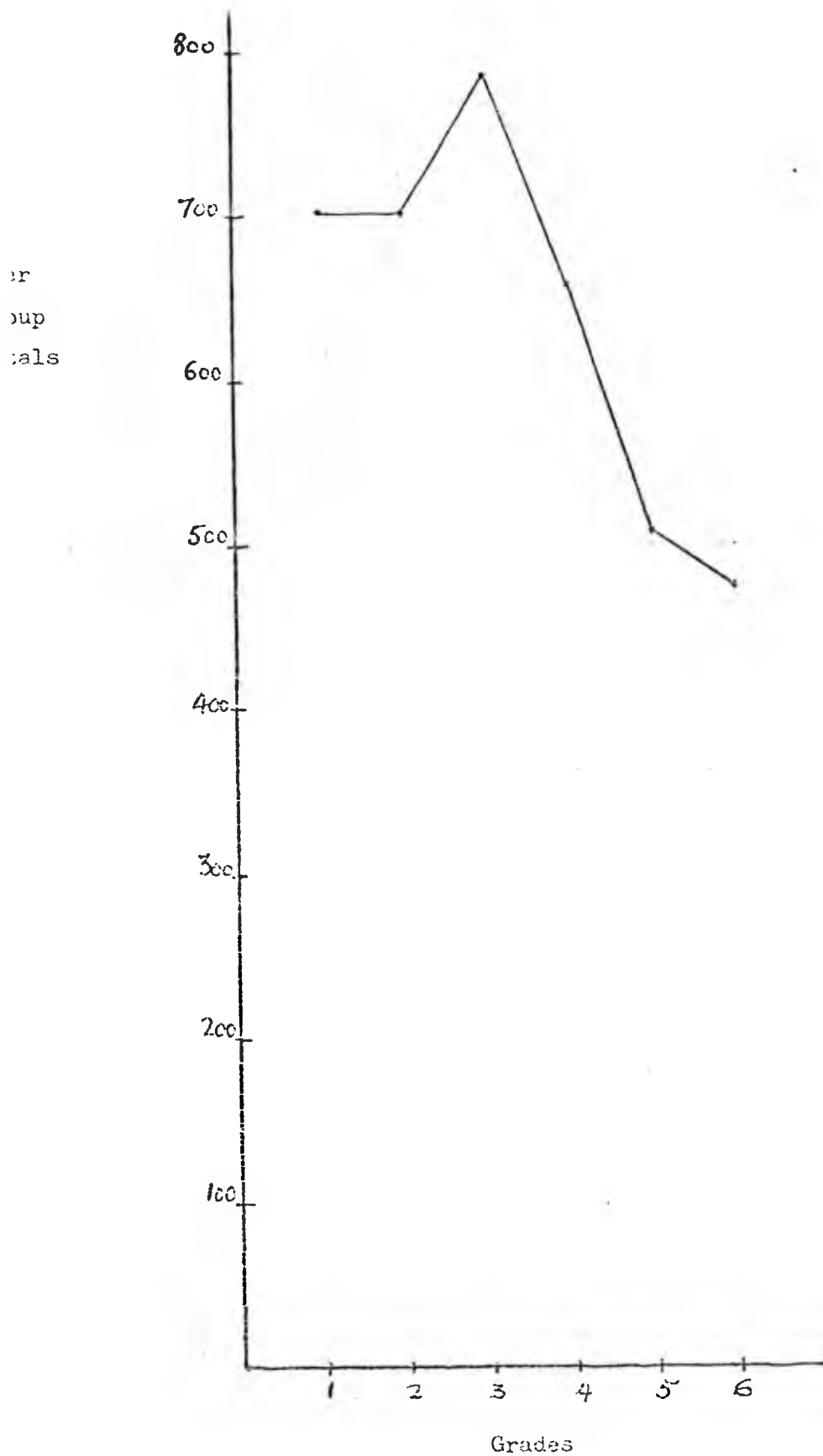
A feature of this problem which has been related in a number of sources is the variability of daily attendance within the school week. Data for this variable was secured for one infant, one junior and four all-age schools.

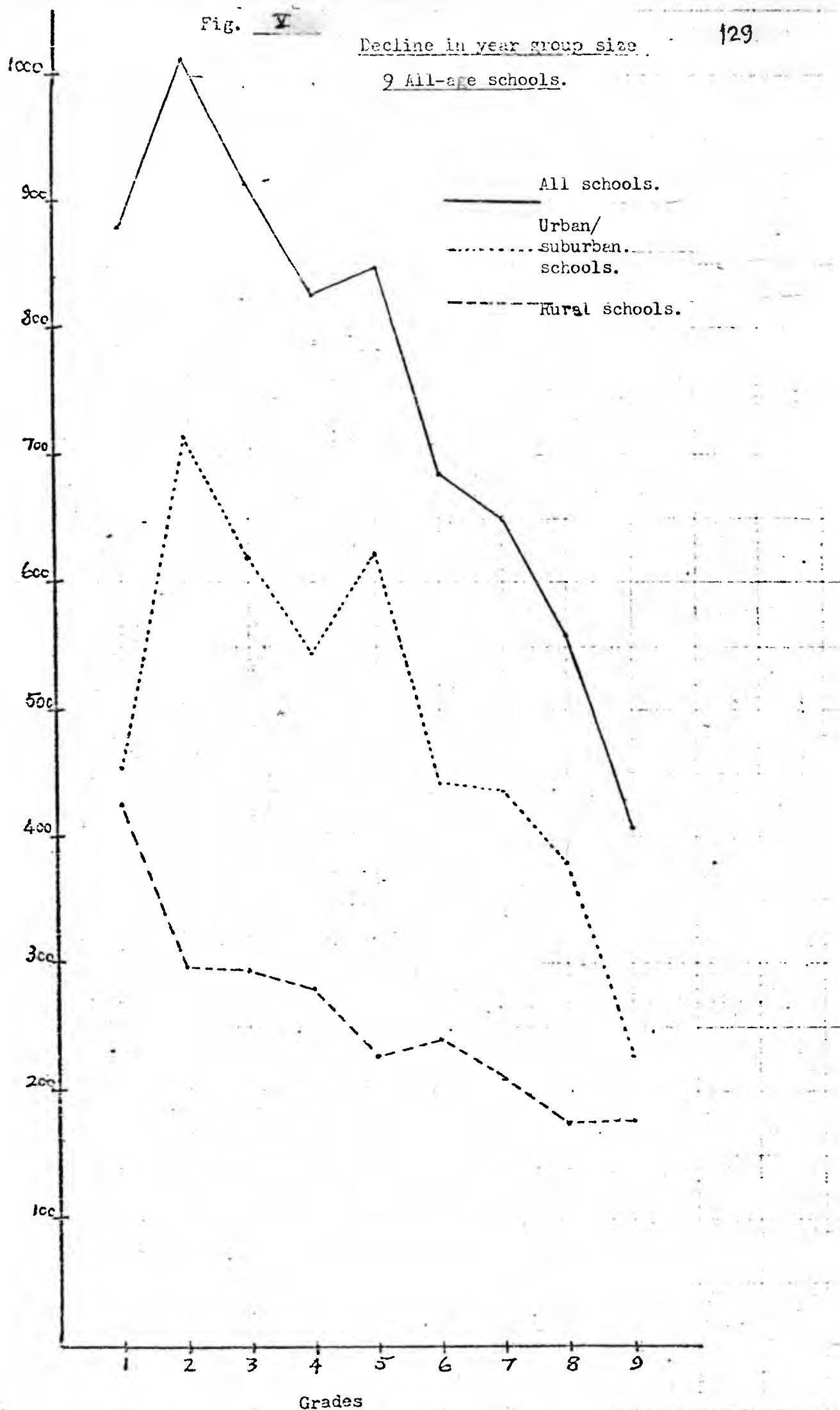
TABLE NO. XXXI

Daily Attendance - Primary Schools (provincial urban)

Schools		Mon.	Tue.	Wed.	Thu.	Fri.
Infant	B	195	212	200	143	92
(p.m. session only)	G	175	180	183	152	98
Junior	a.m.	B	437	486	457	436
		G	516	547	538	517
	p.m.	B	443	486	446	416
		G	514	544	535	504

Decline in year group size - 3 junior schools - all urban



9 All-age schools.r
up
als

Grades

TABLE NO. XXXII

Daily Attendance - all-age (urban, rural)

Schools			Mon.	Tue.	Wed.	Thu.	Fri.
(Urban)	a.m.	B	363	384	373	374	144
		G	391	417	410	383	162
	p.m.	B	370	385	374	373	145
		G	397	417	410	383	160
(Rural)	a.m.	B	290	291	271	271	85
		G	295	290	270	270	90
	p.m.	B	292	293	271	271	86
		G	297	291	270	270	92
(Rural)	a.m.	B	130	148	140	135	67
		G	125	142	134	128	58
	p.m.	B	134	148	140	133	58
		G	125	141	135	127	54
(Rural) Daily Total			204	211	205	200	97

A diminution in the level of attendance is readily apparent towards the end of a week with a sharp decline on the final day. The reasons are attributed (Manley 1963 and 1964, Evans 1964 and Anderson 1972), to the social, familial, economic and seasonal influences noted in an earlier chapter. In a more recent examination of this topic, in the last source noted⁽¹⁾ Anderson involved in his analysis a "social class dichotomy with inverse proportion: the higher up the social scale, the lower the record both absenteeism and lateness". In his survey of eight schools, four all-age and four junior secondary, divided equally between urban and rural catchment areas his summary of findings included the observations that; taking Graham and Miller's 6 point social class ranking scale based on the 1960 census; social classes 5/6 constituted 10 per cent of his sample and 82 per cent of all absences. Their rate of absence was twice that of social classes 3/4. An earlier paper⁽²⁾ was utilised by Anderson as supplementary on the social class differentials,

"With an increase in family income, home ownership and a decrease in family size, attendance improves significantly Since size of

Anderson C.W. "The causes of absenteeism and lateness in certain Jamaican all-age and junior Secondary schools". U.I.I., B.Ed. Thesis. June 1972, Kingston, Jamaica.

Brooks "Socio-economic factors, parental attitudes and School Attendance". Social Work, Vol. 7, No. 4, 1962.

"family, size of family income and models at home relate to school attendance, it is reasonable to expect that poverty, slum conditions and poor home models adversely affect school attendance lower class children resent authority figures such as the police and teachers."

A number of features in this 1972 survey coincided, not surprisingly, with the findings of the 1973 visits during field work. Table No XXVII bears out Anderson's observation that "the traditional idea that Monday's attendance is as low as Friday's not supported by data in this table." Average diurnal attendance was higher in urban schools than in rural and in junior secondary schools than in all-age.

CONDITIONS IN THE SCHOOLS

Class size

As with the earlier J.T.A. survey, this factor is seen as an influential variable, or as a set of differentials, involving examination of year groups, ability and, where possible, accommodation and staffing. At one end of the scale must stand the Junior Department of Knox College simply because it stands as a justification of the aims and objectives of the founder, Dr. Lewis Davidson. Here was found a purpose-built complex of individual and functional design with trained staff and facilities which were adequate by any standards. The eye of the professional teacher, encumbered by architectural mystique or bureaucratic proscription, was apparent in Davidson's original concept of how teaching space should be utilised. With a 50-50 mix of boarding pupils (65 in accommodation for 70) and local children, Class sizes are shown in the separate Table.

Table. XXXIII

Junior Department - Knox College.

Years/Grades/Teachers ^(a)

Infant 1/2 5+ - 6	Class 3 6+ - 7	Class 4 7+ - 8	Class 5 8+ - 9	Class 5 9+ - 10	Class 6 10+ - 11	Class 6 11+ - 12
B G	B G	B G	B G	B G	B G	B G
13 14	13 9	10 13	8 17	15 13	16 10	17 9
TR + Ass't	TR	TR	TR	TR	TR	TR

(a) TR = trained teacher

In the other Primary schools for which information was accessible a different picture was apparent. Some amelioration of the conditions, relating to crude class size since the J.L.A. Survey, was apparent but here it must be acknowledged that these four schools were all urban, that both provision of places and staff availability favoured the urban school and that the retention rate was also higher in built-up areas.

TABLE NO. XXXIV

Class Size in three Junior and one Infant school in three Parishes

School	Streams	1	2	Grades		5	6	Stream total	Stream Mean class size
A. Urban central region	A	46	47	48	40			280	46.67
	B	44	46	58	35	35	64	281	46.83
	C	46	41	43	35	38	60	165	41.25
Year groups		136	134	149	110	73	124		
Mean class size:		45.33	44.67	49.67	36.67	36.5	41.33		
B. Urban Eastern region	A	59	48	50	61	56	63	337	56.17
	B	50	48	55	52	51	52	308	51.33
	C	60	48	65	58	62	48	341	56.83
	C.1	50	47	51	51	52	47	298	49.67
	C.2	51	53	48	52	-	-	204	51.00
	C.3	56	69	47	51	-	-	223	55.75
	D	47	-	50	-	-	-	97	48.5
	Remed.	-	-	51	-	-	-	51	51.0
Year groups		373	313	417	325	221	210		
Mean class size:		53.29	52.17	52.13	54.17	55.25	52.5		
C. Urban Western region	A	73	61	47	57	66	54	358	59.67
	B	63	61	57	45	48	48	322	53.67
	C	57	56	52	55	41	38	309	51.5
	D	-	76	63	57	59	-	255	42.50
Year groups		193	254	219	224	214	140		
Mean class size:		64.33	63.5	54.75	56	53.5	46.67		
D. Infant Urban Eastern region	Reception		A1	A2	B1	B2			
			47	44	43	39		173	43.25
	Readiness/Leaving								
	A	53	55	51				159	53.0
	B	47	50	53				150	50.0
Year groups		100	105	104					
Mean class size:		50	50.25	52					

* = 3 teachers

It is apparent that a decline in the size of the year groups occurred in all schools between grades 3/4 and 5/6. Also, the size of groups in the higher streams consistently exceeded that of lower streams. Evidence was available to show that the

higher ability groups were taught by trained teachers as far as possible and that the lower streams were under the charge either of interns or untrained staff.

The majority of the all-age schools seen furnished data for this section and, in addition, permitted an analysis on a rural/urban dichotomy.

TABLE NO. XXXV

Class size in nine all-age schools in four parishes

School	Stream	Grades									Stream total	Stream Mean class size
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9		
Ban-new ition ete by	A	50	46	58	54	46	43/47	48	44	-	436	48.44
	B	32	54	53	51	51	37	49	43	-	370	46.25
	C	40	49	58	47	48	37	53	49	-	381	47.63
	D	-	45	54	58	51	43	41	-	-	292	48.67
groups class size:		122 40.66	194 48.5	223 55.75	210 52.5	196 49.0	207 41.4	191 47.75	136 45.33			
Ban	A	80	64	59	59	70	59	40	75	60	566	62.89
	B	70	58	69	61	79	47	38	-	-	422	60.29
	C	-	57	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	57	57
groups class size:		150 75	179 59.66	128 64	120 60	149 74.5	106 53	78 39	75 75	60 60		
Ban	A	59	54	65	57	58	57	58	55	60	523	58.11
	B	70	56	53	49	61	58	-	-	-	347	57.83
	C	-	66	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	66	66
groups class size:		129 64.5	176 58.55	118 59	106 53	119 59.5	115 57.5	58 58	55 55	60 60		
ral	A	73	49	58	65	67	55	54	47	37	505	56.11
	B	80	58	92	53	50	-	37	67	70	507	63.38
	C	-	56	-	-	41	-	-	-	-	97	48.5
groups class size:		153 76.5	163 54.33	150 75	118 59	158 79	55 55	91 45.5	114 57	107 53.5		
ral	-	90	81	77	71	46	47	46	29	14	501	55.67
ral	A	40	44	53	30	22	32	32	24	22	299	33.22
	B	20	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	20	20
groups class size:		60 30										
ral	1	91	56	65	59	40	29	62	52	49	503	55.89
	2	72	27	29	25	35	5	39	29	29	290	32.22
Shift system based on length of journey												
groups class size:		163 81.5	83 41.5	94 47	84 42	75 37.5	34 17	101 50.5	81 40.5	78 39		
ral	-	67	49	46	43	39	45	27	31	55	392	43.55
ral	-	43	42	25	44	43	44	24	22	10	297	33

Decline in year group size as the population moved through the school was also apparent here, but in the senior grades (7 - 9) the issue is clouded by lack of consistent evidence on the transfer of pupils, after Grade 6, to nearby junior secondary schools. Similar patterns appear to denote the larger size of A and B streams over lower streams.

schools in urban settings, or on the outskirts of towns, had a lower retention rate than that of schools in rural areas, which would appear to support the assertion made about the siting of World Bank 'first cycle' secondary schools, (Fig IV & V). Staffing of higher streams again tended to be carried out by trained teachers as far as possible, though the extent of the age range in this type of school militates against the interests of the pupil insofar as the availability of consistent professional tuition was concerned.

Facilities, teaching aids and equipment.

In thirteen of the schools seen, including both junior and all-age, Gascoigne's technique⁽¹⁾ of evaluating basic facilities for classroom or school use was applied. Sixteen variables were examined and evaluated on a five point scale: very good; good; fair; limited or not available.

The availability of Pictures (printed material or magazine extracts) for creative writing or to stimulate interest was fair to limited. Newspapers, notably the "Childrens' Own", published by the Gleaner Company were good to fair (Appendix III). Magazines and Geographical globes were either limited or not available for classroom use.

Text books were judged by teachers to be good in one school, in fair supply in seven schools and limited in the other five. Wall charts were in good supply in four schools, fair in five and limited in the remaining four, but here it must be stressed that by far the greatest number of charts seen were teacher produced.

Technical aids (Tape recorder, Record player, Radio, Television or Duplicator) were in short supply generally. An average of five out of the sample schools listed returns, two in particular; both rural in Western parishes; showing total deficiency in all items. Four schools had no radio, five schools possessed one either each and one rural school returned six sets, though many belonged to teachers. All schools had no television, four of those remaining having one set (one stolen) and the other schools two each - but one of these, situated in a parish capital and

adjacent to both residential and commercial development had no electricity. Four schools had no duplicator. Nine had a single machine but one of these had a duplicator which had been unserviceable for a number of years.

Ten of the schools had one piano, one of these being described as, and sounding, 'old' and one the product of a community supported Harvest supper. Only four of the schools possessed one typewriter. Two of these were junior schools, one having a typewriter 'available' or teacher owned. Thus only two of the eight all-age schools in this small sample had a typewriter on the premises despite the existence of a 'senior department' the curriculum of which, for girls, should have included some aspect of commercial studies.

In practical subjects, equipment either for use in Domestic Science for girls or Industrial Arts or Agricultural Science for boys was thin on the ground.

Nine schools had no means of refrigeration. One, in a parish capital with a provision for school meals, had no gas stove. Eight schools had one gas stove each but six of these were in the school kitchen and thus not accessible to pupils. One (rural) school had three gas stoves in addition to the one used for school meals. Three schools had no sewing machine, four possessed two machines but in two cases both were unserviceable and in one of the others only one machine was operable. The remaining seven schools had one sewing machine each.

For boys in the Senior Department, only one school claimed to offer both Industrial Arts and Agricultural Science. In the main these subjects were not accessible to students owing to lack of specialist teachers. With the size of the school grounds (Appendix II) it was demonstrably difficult to set aside space for workshop or land-based studies in the face of overwhelming pressure for accommodation for class based subjects. In any case, as has been noted in the matter of basic equipment for girls' practical lessons, both facilities and tools were either totally absent or in extremely short supply. Even the single school mentioned above was limited by cramped conditions in workshop space (a small converted classroom) and nagged only by dint of constant surveillance to maintain the security of both an adequate supply of tools and the pupils' own work.

One rural school, sited on land leased from the extensive grounds of a lavishly equipped Secondary high school, had locked away its meagre resources of five garden tools, one woodwork bench and three domestic science work benches, all laid up for want of specialist staff.

An essential factor relating to facilities listed and their availability is, of course, capitation allowance. Gascoigne⁽¹⁾

"following an analysis of the less than equal role of the all-age school within the system set out the following data concerning per capita grants for types of school in Jamaica. (1970)

All-age Schools	:	J\$ 30
Junior Secondary Schools:	J\$ 80	
High Schools	:	J\$ 150
Technical High Schools	:	J\$ 280."

In the case of the eight schools involved in his survey only three had active parent-teacher associations so that it might have been assumed that the comparative lack of equipment noted was due to the paucity of Ministry funds. In the case of the facilities examined for the purposes of the 1972-73 study it was notable that in even schools the resources listed were available mainly as a result of 'community, parent-teacher association, school activities (harvest supper, concert, social), or donations'. One rural school evaluated the proportional contributions on the basis of its \$ 300 duplicator for which the Government allowance was \$ 40.

A summation of general conditions was also offered by Gascoigne in terms which could only be interpreted indigenously. This type of appraisal, it is seen, can only be offered by those serving in the field and it is for this reason that this manner of evaluation of resources was not used in the field study.

) Ibid., p 131.

TABLE NO. XXXVI

Facilities existing in eight all-age schools (Gascoigne 1970⁽¹⁾)

	Very Good	Good	Fairly Good	Fair	Poor
School Building	-	2	3	1	2
Sanitation	-	1	3	3	1
Desks/Benches	-	-	3	5	-
Chalk Board & Black Board	-	1	3	4	-
Library	-	-	2	5	1
Canteen	-	1	3	2	2
Home Economics	-	2	2	-	4
Industrial Arts	-	-	-	-	8
Sewing	-	-	8	-	-
Playground	-	1	3	4	-

"The survey has borne out a survey (J.T.A. 1969)
 taken of a large number of all-age
 schools."

taffing in sample schools.

Staff qualifications in the schools visited in 1972-73 are shown in Table

o. XXXVII

TABLE NO. XXXVII

Staff qualifications in eight Junior schools, situated in three parishes

Schools	Pupils 1972-73		Staff qualifications (incl. principal)				% of Trained over Untrained
	Enrol- ment	Attend- ance	Graduate	Trained	Intern	Untrained	
A Urban denom	1,231	890	-	22	3	3	89
B Urban Gov't	895	565	-	15	3	1	95
C Urban	1,849	1,270	-	27	-	9	75
D Urban	969	626	-	14	2	7	69
E Urban	770	513	1	16	-	5	77
F Rural	656	546	-	9	2	3	53
G Rural	433	285	-	3	2	9	36
H Rural	691	404	-	6	3	8	53

) Ibid., p. 97, Table 23.

TABLE NO. XXXVIII

Staff qualifications in fourteen All-age schools, situated in five parishes

Schools	Pupils 1972-73		Staff qualifications (incl. principal)				% of Trained over Untrained
	Enrolment	Attendance	Graduate	Trained	Intern	Untrained	
1 Urban	930	657	-	15	1	3	76
3 "	1,040	771	-	15	-	5	75
3 "	1,500	1,114	-	19	2	11	66
3 Suburban	1,143	710	-	17	2	3	70
3 Rural	342	250	-	4	-	3	57
7 "	578	327	-	8	3	3	78
7 "	1,274	750	-	20	2	6	78
1 "	1,035	746	-	13	-	10	56
1 "	898	586	-	9	-	7	56
1 "	491	287	-	7	-	2	58
1 "	322	181	-	4	-	6	40
1 "	793	550	-	13	-	9	59
1 "	398	325	-	6	2	2	80
1 "	293	n/av.	-	1	-	5	17

the nature of the difficult and disparate conditions under which teachers in this range worked has already been touched upon. It may be noted that, despite the preponderance of these schools within the system, they provided only a moderate proportion of topics for indigenous research. Baptiste⁽¹⁾ disclosed, in a study tracing one hundred teachers in twenty schools in urban and rural areas, that of the (50) trained teachers had had five or less years of service while only twenty eight per cent had served eleven years or more. This study also elaborated on the nature of the Education officers' role: only one Senior Education Officer in technical education throughout the island, two Senior education officers in charge of supervision. Seven Field officers were seen as subject specialists covering mathematics, social studies, science, art and craft, physical education, home economics and religious knowledge. There were in addition ten 'general practitioners' who were under the direct

Baptiste, G.U. "The role of the Education officer in the in-service education of teachers in the Primary and All-age Schools of Jamaica". B.Ed. thesis, Institute of Education, University of the West Indies, June 1972.

ontrol of the two supervising S.E.O.'s. As would be expected with a staffing allocation of this order the degree of support, visitation, discussion, workshop activity, or supplemental coursework was minimal. With the best will in the world it would be difficult to envisage an adequate level of assistance for teachers in the field, trained or untrained.

Summary of findings

Perhaps the best way to weigh the evidence drawn from the findings of the field work is to make an assessment of the nature of the conditions prevalent in this age range of the educational system in terms of their cumulative effect upon a typical school. Invidious though it is to make such a judgement, the choice made for this purpose was a converted junior, urban school.

It was an all-age school in the south coastal plantation plateau until the erection of a new junior secondary school in 1969. Capacity in the 1967-68 Directory is given as 601 and extension buildings, giving an additional space for 200 pupils, were added, also in 1969. The capacity is now (1972-73) given as 856 and the actual number of pupils accommodated in the extension building was 380.

Prior to conversion, despite the lack of facilities for practical subjects for junior pupils, these were presented as part of the timetable by members of staff qualified to deal with them. The advent of a junior secondary school in the region meant, in effect, that these teachers migrated with the upper grades.

Strangely enough this contraction in the range of grades did not bring the expected relief in accommodation terms. Figures show that with a capacity of 601 as an all-age school enrolment rose as high as 1,584 (1967-68 Directory) yet with the removal of grades 7-9 to another school in the academic year 1969-70, enrolment ran to 1,717 in October 1971, with an occasional September attendance figure of 1,671, contrasting with the revised capacity of 856.

Attendance records show the normal variations for the system. October figures presented a more marked influence from the rainy season, conditions characteristically aggravated by the rural nature of the outlying catchment area as well as by the lower

socio-economic conditions in which pupils resided, together with the demands made upon the family by the cash cropping market economy upon which so many families rely in part for income.

The buildings and facilities of the school represented a low level of provision, maintenance and service. There was a traditional practice of subdividing teaching space by the use of screens, also doubling as the only blackboard space, together with the device of sitting pupils in opposing directions so as to draw their attention to their own class teacher, or to divert it from the activities of other pupils or teachers. The resultant noise level was curiously contained and evolved as a purposeful hum of activity, with only the occasional burst of sound which rose to act as distraction or disturbance.

This is not to say that this situation could be idealised by the self-contained behaviour of the pupils or to suggest that it should be maintained an instant longer than is necessary. The resulting attention span, level of concentration or purely physical conditions of noise, overcrowding and ventilation were all too plainly contributory in deleterious manner to permit any complacency regarding these school conditions.

The research tool used to determine levels of provision showed a typical lack of proper space or facility for subjects and purposes which were regarded as essential in other age ranges. Thus, the inadequacy of toilet facilities, the absence of such rudimentary provisions as storage or display areas for each teaching space, the resulting difficulties in terms of practical teaching in the curriculum areas where this is seen to be of importance, all contributed to the level of frustration and stress which appear to be the lot of the primary school teacher.

For the pupils there was no provision, at the official level, for medical inspection or welfare, a dearth of equipment for scientific or creative inquiry, except that which was made and in the main provided by the teachers themselves. The only other source of supply appeared to rest on the efforts of both staff and pupils in fund-raising activities, the generosity of friends of the school, old pupils, community support or donations from abroad, mainly from emigrants who had the interest of their native community still close to their hearts.

As was the case with other urban situations or in the case of schools in the vicinity of urban or industrial development of some consequence, the proportion of trained over untrained teachers was at a high level. This could only be maintained as a result of the attraction of amenities and communication with other urban centres and it contrasted with the ratio found in schools which were situated in more rural areas.

Conclusion

There is only one conclusion to be drawn. Despite, possibly even because of, government efforts to accelerate the general development of educational facilities the whole structure of the primary and all-age sector is in dire straits. It has fallen, and has been allowed to remain, in the position characteristically drawn for primary, elementary, education in low income countries. Minimal standards of provision in teaching materials and conditions are taken as the norm. Ill-equipped and inexperienced as well as untrained, teachers occupy much too large a proportion of the profession and, if these were not sufficient as detrimental influences upon the work in the schools, the body of curriculum content still reflects the subject oriented structure borrowed from the British tradition of goodness knows what era. Whether it be the nineteenth century liberal ethos, or a more functional set of aspirations directed toward the goal of meeting the manpower needs of a developing economy, its net result is the same: the needs of the mass of pupils are subordinated to the interests of a minority who are capable of, or are sponsored into, the selective entry procedure for high school, generally academic, education.

CHAPTER SIX.JUNIOR SECONDARY EDUCATION

The Junior Secondary sector was to be the culmination of an earlier philosophy of the 1950's, designed to provide secondary education to all children between the ages of 12 and 15. In principle the operation involved the establishment of a four tier system, with variable recruitment; based upon universal provision at primary and first cycle secondary and selective entry based upon performance and aptitude for a proportion of the age groups between 15 and 19, together with subsequent opportunity at Post Secondary institutions.

The Junior Secondary building programme, backed by World Bank Loan and Government funding, began in 1966 and was scheduled for completion by 1969 following a three phase construction. A range of difficulties, including wider ranging aspects of the Loan programme, such as work on the College of Arts, Science and Technology, the Jamaica School of Agriculture and Bethlehem Teachers' College, and tendering and labour problems extended the time scale of the operation into the 1970's.

Fifty Junior Secondary schools were planned, distributed throughout the fourteen parishes.

Table No. XXXIX (1)

Parish	No. of Schools	School Capacity	No. of Feeder Schools	Feeder School Average Enrol't	J/S places x 2 as % of Prim. Enrol't (6 grades)
Kingston & St. Andrew	4	4,050	No prescribed feeders		H/Av
St. Catherine	7	5,535	26	11,978	92.4
Clarendon	9	6,480	35	15,391	84.2
Manchester	1	810	5	2,362	78.6
St. Elizabeth	6	4,320	31	12,498	79.2
Westmoreland	3	2,430	9	6,054	80.2
Hanover	3	1,895	15	5,985	63.4
St. James	2	1,485	7	3,793	78.2
Trelawny	2	1,620	8	3,827	84.6
St. Ann	3	2,430	12	8,571	56.8
St. Mary	3	1,890	13	4,600	82.2
Portland	3	1,485	10	3,393	87.6
St. Thomas	4	2,700	17	7,807	79.2
Island Totals	50	37,130	188	86,259	86.08

Indigenous research (Anderson, Dick, Pape, Williams) referred to but did not specify further schools, converted Senior and All-age, which were added to this total as an attempt, no doubt, to moderate the disparity in provision of first cycle

(1) Derived from: Master Plan Report: Junior Secondary program. Ministry of Education, Jamaica Dec. 1967.

secondary places. There were also two Government built prototype schools, at Spanish Town and Yallahs which provisionally brought the total to sixty eight schools but by the date of the field study, one urban school, Tivoli Gardens, had already been elevated to Comprehensive school status.

The logistics of the Masterplan Report involved the establishment of schools ranging in size from 3 stream to 9 stream entry, staffing, subject provision and facilities across a twelve or thirteen subject curriculum. Nine stream schools, catering for urban populations did not proffer agriculture as a subject.

Table No. XL

Pupils, staff and designation of rooms by stream size, World Bank schools.

No. of schools	Str	Pupil Roll	Staff incl Princ	Class Rooms	Labs	Pract Rooms	Work Shops	Multi Purp	Art Craft	Lib (Room size)	Library Books
3	9	1,215	34	17	3	4	3	3	2	x 2	4,300
29	6	810	23	10	2	3	2	2	2	x 1.5	3,000
3	5	675	20	8	2	3	2	2	1	x 1.5	Not specified
7	4	540	16	8	1	1	1	3	1	x 1.5	" "
3	3	405	12	6	1	1	1	3	1	x 1.5	1,400

The designation of specialist staff indicated subject range and the disposition of time allocated is also shown.

Table No. XLI

Staffing and subject time: allocations on the basis of stream size.

Subjects	Staff and Number of Periods									
	Stream									
	Nine		Six		Five		Four		Three	
	Staff	Per	Staff	Per	Staff	Per	Staff	Per	Staff	Per
English	6	8	4	8	4	8	(4)	8	2	8
Ec Studies, Hist/Geog/Civics	3	4	2	4	2	4		4	1	4
Foreign Lang & Gen Subs	3	3	2	3	1	3	1	3	1	3
Maths	(9)	8	(5)	8	(4)	8	(4)	8	(2)	8
Science		4		4		4		4		4
Food/Metal & Tech Drg	3	3	2	3	2	3	1	3	1	3
Home Economics	3	3	2	3	2	3	1	3	1	3
Art & Craft	2	2	1	2	1	2	1	2	1	2
Rel. Games & Gen Subs	2	2	1	2	1	2	1	2	1	2
Music	1	2	1	2	(1)	2	(1)	2	-	2
Pl. Knowledge & Gen Subs	1	1	1	1		1		1	-	1
Agriculture	-	-	1	3	2	3	1	3	1	3
Library		3			Incl in Eng allocation					

Time allocation by subjects and subject groupings was varied on a streaming basis from the outset. It is well to note that the operation of the "Masterplan" Junior secondary schools was subject to this degree of organisation and that principals had the document Report as one of their administrative tools. The time given to subjects attuned to formal content, and most likely to be of practical use to aspiring candidates for second cycle secondary schooling, was not only generous, but became more so progressively throughout the three grades of the first cycle.

In schools most likely to cater for the urban pupil the proportion of time for English, Social studies, Mathematics, Science and a foreign language rose from 67.5 per cent, in grade 7 to 75 and 72.5 per cent of streams A to E in grades 8 and 9. Practical subjects, Industrial Arts, Home Economics and Art and Craft varied from between 12 and 17 per cent through all grades for Streams A to E, but from between 20 and 30 per cent for grades eight and nine in the lowest streams.

At the other end of the scale, in rural three stream schools the disparity was more marked. Formal subjects share of the time table was again 67.5 per cent for A streams throughout but dropped to 45 per cent for grade 9 C streamers. The proportion for Practical subjects was 20 per cent to 22.5 per cent for A streams but rose to 45 per cent, again for grade 9 C streams.

As can be deduced, the share of time secured by the remaining subjects, Music, Religious Knowledge, Physical Education and games was fairly minimal, ranging between ten and twenty per cent in all grades and streams, but noticeably being scaled down to the lower proportion as the grades progressed. This link between subject choice and ability levels could not have been misinterpreted either by pupil or teacher.

As inferred, this time allocation was a policy decision, duly arrived at by the interested parties,

"With regard to educational concept, teaching space requirements, site inspection, land use, economic justification and time-table limitations. It is meant to perform as a guide book in presenting optimum ways of bringing the project to a successful conclusion." (1) (Master Plan and Report)

(1) Ibid. Introduction, p iii.

Acknowledgements by the Ministry disclosed the interest taken by U.N.E.S.C.O., U.S. Aid and the World Bank Appraisal Mission as well as that of relevant educational specialists across the broad curriculum area.

Reiterated at a number of points throughout the Report were aims designed to "acquaint the student with various occupational skills", or "to service manpower needs" and to "make that education immediately functional on entering the labour force".⁽¹⁾ Perhaps the most striking objective was

"to correct the imbalances in the educational facilities offered through the existing educational institutions."⁽²⁾

In each case, the allocation of time by subjects is somewhat confusing when set against a policy of supporting educational development designed to accomplish a level of technical self sufficiency. How far this aim conflicted with other educational goals, linked with symbolic as opposed to functional values is open to conjecture. In the event the exercise appeared to perpetuate the imbalances it was designed to eradicate as later examination of the outcome of the early years will tend to suggest.

Subject provision in the Junior Secondary Sector

As should all 'Masterplans', the Report gave scrupulous attention to Curriculum. In addition to standardised provision for formal academic classroom subjects, purpose built laboratories, home economics rooms, including a demonstration model flat layout, Art and Craft rooms, complete with pottery facilities and Industrial Arts workshop space tailored for plumbing and electrical as well as wood and metal work (though with machinery listed but lacking itemised potential cost) were all designated clearly, with specimen layouts in each case.

In principle, given that adequate staffing was to hand for each of the subject areas so equipped, the intending students would have been right in assuming that an all-round educational experience lay in store in the World Bank Schools. Such an assumption would not have arisen as readily in the case of converted schools since, in those seen, the common complaint was that of a shortage of resources in many of

(1) Ibid. Preface, p iv, Educational Aims, p 3.

(2) Ibid. p 3.

the practical areas. Nevertheless, these older schools had struggled against competing claims for educational funding and had managed, it appeared, to surmount many of the difficulties.

In the event, the lack of teacher output in most of the creative and practical subjects led to imbalance in the application of a broad curricular experience for World Bank School pupils. External factors, nominated elsewhere, conspired to perpetuate a pecking order in subject status and examination choice in which certain traditional areas were favoured to the detriment of whole subject groups whose contribution to the development of both personal and practical aptitudes has always been undeniable. Even the generalised claim that a good formal education was an essential precursor to the development of practical skills would seem to have been spurious in the case of the launching of this middle school development. The general principles of curriculum planning seemed merely to have reinforced traditional attitudes, exemplified in mundane terms by the treatment accorded to subjects in an earlier source.⁽¹⁾ This Ministry book of suggestions accorded formal subjects three times as much space as that devoted to practical work, strategically placed as end chapters.

(1) "Suggestions to teachers in Senior schools and Departments" Ministry of Education. Jan. 1961.

Conditions in Junior Secondary Schools

Although the objectives and ethos of the new sector were thus both expressed and intended, a number of variables and departures were immediately apparent once any examination of the schools in operation was put in train. Early studies (Anderson, Dick, Pope, Williams, Ying), emanating from the School of Education of the UWI, concerned themselves with implementation and organisation, with staffing and subject provision and with absenteeism in the developing Junior Secondary sector, but in so doing revealed other differentials which moderated, or marred, the proposals implicit in the development of a first cycle Secondary age range. Field study material tended to confirm their evidence.

Curriculum

The curriculum of the schools was affected by institutional norms relevant either to alien culture or to inappropriate levels of development. The claims for formal (traditional) and technical content stressed the metropolitan society view of self-sufficiency needs associated with a development cycle geared to the emergence of a capital-intensive system. In so doing they over-rode the competing claims of a land and labour-intensive economy, tending to denigrate those aspects of community and life-style to which significant cohorts of population are still committed. An examination of "Masterplan" Curriculum analysis disclosed that teachers of traditional and formal subjects were to comprise more than half the staff (fifty five per cent in large urban schools, fifty three per cent in medium schools, largely rural and, significantly, forty five per cent in small rural schools) Williams⁽¹⁾ using a sample of eleven schools in seven parishes, including prototype, converted senior and new World Bank schools noted that out of two hundred and seventy two staff sixty three were interns or pre-trained. The pre-trained taught mostly in Physical Education, Agricultural Science, Industrial Arts, Spanish and Science.

"The principals informed us that there was a shortage of trained teachers in these areas."

(1) Williams D.L. "Problems in the implementation and organisation of Junior Secondary Schools in Jamaica" School of Education, UWI. B. Ed thesis June 1971. p 116.

Pape⁽¹⁾ studying eleven schools in eight parishes, again including prototype, new and converted (two ex-all-age) schools indicated 1971 evidence from Nice training college that of eighty two students for Junior secondary training, seventy two had college entry qualifications at 'O' level and J.S.C. in English and Mathematics. No data was offered on practical subjects.

Accommodation

The logistics of the Masterplan Report were precise in terms of maximising the utility of schoolroom space and staffing. However, almost all studies showed that these norms were unrealisable and this may have been attributable to a number of causal factors.

Schools Within the overall pattern of expanding first cycle secondary schooling a compromise solution involved the translation (Pape) of sixteen schools⁽²⁾, fourteen from senior and two from all-age to Junior Secondary status. In the indigenous, as well as the field study research, sundry indicators suggested that these converted schools had more credibility in the community than the purpose built World Bank schools.

Explicit requirements suggested that World Bank school classrooms were designed to accommodate forty-five pupils. A variety of influences moderated this intention. Since it was seen that the Junior Secondary sector would provide the first, last and only cycle for the greater part of its age range, recruitment into the schools was hesitant (Pape)

"The school (J/S) will be terminal for seventy per cent of the age group - the need for a sounder foundation shows itself clearly."⁽³⁾

Apart from Williams⁽⁴⁾ who observed that in seven out of eleven schools studied, numbers enrolled exceeded the planned capacity, there was clear evidence of under-utilisation of school places. He further suggested that this 'overcrowding' led to multi-purpose and specialist rooms being wrongly used as class or form rooms, whereas the Schedule of Accommodation in the Report was quite plain on this issue. Briefly,

(1) Pape L.R. "Staffing in the Junior Secondary Schools" School of Education, UWI B. Ed thesis, June 1971. p 43 et seq.

(2) Ibid. p 32.

(3) Ibid. p 102.

(4) Williams D.L. Op.cit. p. 102.

Nine Stream entry schools (27 classes across three grades) have only seventeen designated classrooms, though as Williams went on to point out⁽¹⁾

"only in the two prototype schools were there lockers for pupils with no home room. The idea was not pursued in the other (World Bank) schools."

The 1967-68 Directory of Schools, the Ministry Performance Report of 1969-70 and field study data enabled analysis of enrolment proportions, and attendance (Table XLII) and a number of variables were apparent.

Table No. XLII

Data on Junior Secondary school population:
Capacity/Enrolment/Attendance between 1968 and 1973

Date	School Total	School Type & Location	Capacity	Enrolment	Attendance	% Enr. Cap.	% Att. Enr.	% Att. Cap.
1967-8	16	K.S.A.C. other parishes	7,163 5,976	7,095 6,923	5,623 4,739	99 115	79 63	78 79
All Schools			13,139	14,013	10,362	107	74	79
1969-70	22	K.S.A.C. other parishes	4,050 14,175	4,024 12,956	3,247 10,596	99 91	80 82	80 75
All Schools			18,225	16,980	13,843	93	82	76
1972 School Records	1 3 2	Conv. St. And. W.B.) other Conv.) parishes	Not Available					
			2,296	2,139	1,266	93	59	55
			1,100	1,301	874	125	67	79
1973 Field Study Data	1 3	Conv. St. And. W.B.) other Conv.) parishes	810 2,296 1,100	904 2,070 1,525	713 1,263 1,016	112 90 138	79 61 66	83 55 92
Field Study -- All Schools			4,206	4,499	2,992	107	67	71

The discrepancy between totals represented by official sources between 1967-68 and 1969-70 may be due to the latter report listing only World Bank schools, whereas at least Kingston and Papine (Senior) conversions would have been included in the Directory. It can be seen that the converted schools were consistently over-subscribed.

The Performance Report⁽²⁾ showed only eight of the twenty two new schools then in operation, as over subscribed, all in or near urban centres, but this was not sufficiently pronounced to compensate for under-subscription.

(1) Ibid. p 96

(2) Performance Report, 1969-1970. Op.cit. Section V. p 29.

Table No. XLIII

New World Bank Schools (22) in operation
1969-70 by Size, Location, Capacity, Enrolment and Attendance.

Size	No.	Location	Capacity	Enrolment	Attendance
9 stream	3	Urban	3,645	3,480	2,988
6 stream	8	Urban	6,480	6,803	5,220
6 stream	7	Rural	5,670	4,539	3,812
5 stream	2	Rural	1,350	1,205	1,081
4 stream	2	Rural	1,080	953	742
All Schools			18,225	16,980	13,843

Williams (1) attributed both wastage and undersubscription to a variety of influences including, shortage of trained teachers - especially in a range of practical subjects, inadequacy of equipment - in Home Economics, Industrial Arts and Agricultural Science and to the poor quality of the pupils who entered the junior Secondary Schools because of

- "(a) pre-selection of best pupils at 11+ for entry into High Schools;
- (b) the overcrowding in primary schools which did not allow good teaching to take place,"

and, with others, inferred that patterns of lateness and absenteeism established in the primary and all-age schools were difficult to eradicate in the first cycle of secondary provision.

Accommodation and class size.

In the schools which Williams utilised for his study the mean size of the largest and smallest classes was 51.9 and 34.3 respectively. (2) Class sizes in three schools in the 1972-73 field study, which made this information available are shown in Table No. XLIV

(1) Williams.D.L.

Op.cit. p 153

(2) Ibid. Table 13

Class size in three Junior Secondary schools
by location, type, stream and grade.

School	Type	Grade	Stream						Grade Total	Mean Grade Size
			A	B	C	D	E	F		
Provincial Urban	World Bank	7	43	40	50	42	28	-	203	41
		8	42	36	48	39	46	-	211	42
		9	47	43	52	55	53	-	250	50
	Stream total		132	119	150	136	127	-	664	
	Mean stream size		44	40	50	45	42			
Provincial Rural	World Bank	7	42	36	45	32	28	45	228	38
		8	33	39	44	37	40	39	232	39
		9	42	44	39	33	25	-	183	37
		10	36	-	-	-	-	-	36	36
	Stream total		153	119	128	102	93	84	679	
	Mean stream size		51	40	43	34	31	42		
Metropolitan	Conv.	7	53	55	54	57	49	47	315	52.5
	Senior	8	50	48	53	55	48	51	305	51
		9	47	48	50	46	46	38	275	46
	Stream total		150	151	157	158	143	136	895	
	Mean stream size		50	50	52	53	48	45		

Absenteeism

Wastage occurred clearly in two schools and this had a recognisable effect upon grade size but a variable which merits further attention and research is that relating to stream size. As later evidence will tend to suggest, the more experienced and better qualified staff were placed with the abler pupils which factor contributed to rising drop-out rates in lower ability bands. A quite revealing example of this facet was made available by data from one school. This material was the produce of an internal probe into attendance records, by grade and stream, over a number of weeks in the summer term in 1972. Quite plainly, the disincentives of low-stream tutelage, inadequacy of resources and dwindling time set up a law of diminishing return for the less able.

Differentiation by stream and sex of pupil

An examination of data from four schools gave some insight into differential ability by sex of pupil, as well as giving information on apparent wastage, as it affected both boys and girls in the duration of the junior secondary cycle (Table XLV)

A clearly distinguishable trend disclosed that girls predominated in the composition of higher streamed classes and, as their proportion decreased in the lower ability bands, that of the boys increased. The average number of girls in streamed classes declined from 26 in A streams to 14 in F streams, while the average number of boys increased from 13 in A streams to 29 in F streams. (Numbers rounded.) One feature, which may be a cause for conjecture, is that the proportion of boys in Grade 10 (three of the four schools) belied this trend. Sixty one boys and sixty eight girls comprised the total of one hundred and twenty nine pupils in 'extended education', but in the three preceding grades, girls outnumbered boys by three to two in both A and B streams.

Wastage rates

Wastage rates differentiated between male and female pupils less consistently. Grade size declined markedly for boys in two schools, varying between fifty and thirty three per cent. In the same schools, grade size for girls declined by twenty and twenty two per cent respectively. The fourth school in the table showed consistent recruitment and minimal wastage for boys but a thirty three per cent wastage for girls between grades 7 and 9. The figures for the second school in the table appeared to indicate, rather, a decline in recruitment. It was in a rural area, reasonably adjacent to a high school with a newly opened, and competitive, linked Junior Secondary school.

Table No. XLV

Distribution of pupils in Grade and stream, by sex of pupil:
Four Junior Secondary schools.

School	Type	Grade	Stream												Grand Total	Mean Grade Size																							
			A						B							C						D						E						F					
			F	G	B	G	B	G	B	G	B	G	B	G		B	G	B	G	B	G	B	G	B	G	B	G	B	G	B	G	B	G						
Provincial Urban	Newly Opened World Bank	7	26	28	29	22	25	27	34	18	30	13			144	108	28	22																					
		8	14	34	17	33	26	23	35	15				92	105	23	26																						
		9	5	25	15	25	23	17	28	16				71	83	18	21																						
Mean stream total			45	87	61	80	74	67	97	49	30	13																											
		15	29	20	27	25	23	32	16	13																													
Provincial Rural	World Bank	7	12	30	11	21	11	21	12	17	17	19	21	4	84	111	14	18.5																					
		8	12	23	12	23	19	26	19	24	18	7	30	8	110	111	18	18.5																					
		9	10	23	14	32	20	27	18	27	21	15	(14	21)	125	152	18	22																					
Mean stream total		10	21	13											21	13	21	13																					
		55	89	37	76	50	74	49	68	56	41	93	70																										
		14	22	12	25	17	25	16	23	19	14	23	10																										
Provincial Urban	Converted Senior School	7	36	25	27	29	30	27	26	29	26	35	36	22	181	167	30	28																					
		8	19	31	23	27	36	26	30	25	22	16	36	15	166	140	27	23																					
		9	24	28	20	32	23	23	27	23	28	25			122	131	24	26																					
Mean stream total		10	30	29											30	29	30	29																					
		129	113	70	83	89	76	83	77	76	76	72	37																										
		32	28	23	29	30	25	28	26	25	25	36	18.5																										
Provincial Rural	World Bank	7	14	28	12	24	20	25	13	19	15	13	32	13	106	122	18	20																					
		8	8	25	18	21	21	23	25	12	23	17	26	13	121	111	20	18.5																					
		9	18	24	20	24	22	17	22	11	19	6			101	82	20	16																					
Mean stream total		10	10	26											10	26	10	26																					
		50	103	50	69	63	65	60	42	57	36	58	26																										
		12.5	26	17	23	21	22	20	14	19	12	29	13																										

12. For ease of presentation, all mean figures have been rounded to the nearest whole number.

Daily Attendance

Anderson noted that average diurnal attendance varied within his sample. ⁽¹⁾

"Urban schools higher (88%) than rural (79%)
Junior Secondary higher (85%) than All-age (81%)"

and noted that,

"the traditional idea that Monday's attendance
is as low as Friday is not supported by (the
evidence)."

Two schools in the field study (Table No. XLVI) furnished detailed records, one offering figures both for the beginning of the school year in 1972 and on the date of the visit in April 1973, and these compared with Anderson's findings on both counts. A sex differential, not examined in his study, disclosed variable attendance as between boys and girls. Boys tended to appear more at the beginning of the week, achieved peak attendance by Tuesday and allowed a decline to set in from that day. Girls appeared to build up attendance more slowly, reaching a peak by Wednesday and declining more slowly. Boys attendance was much lower on Friday (62.12% a.m., 58.31% p.m.) than that of girls (79.01% a.m., 77.52% p.m.) in the urban school but the trend was reversed, though with much less emphasis in the rural school (66.28% Boys, 64.57% Girls). A considerable change occurred in the urban school attendance pattern between the beginning of the school year and the beginning of the third term, indicating probable wastage from enrolment at the commencement of the school year.

Almost invariably morning attendance was exceeded by afternoon attendance, Fridays excepted.

(1) Ibid.

Table No. XLVI

Table showing diurnal and daily attendance: Weekly record for two Junior Secondary schools, by type and by sex of pupil, also attendance as a percentage of enrolment.

School	Type	Pupils	Attendance									
			Monday		Tuesday		Wednesday		Thursday		Friday	
			a.m.	p.m.	a.m.	p.m.	a.m.	p.m.	a.m.	p.m.	a.m.	p.m.
Urban Enrolment 966 Diurnal September 1972	Converted Senior School	Boys (499)	446	457	457	458	436	436	430	432	310	291
		Attendance/ Enrolment	89.37%	91.58%	91.58%	91.78%	87.37%	87.37%	86.17%	86.57%	62.12%	58.31%
		Girls (467)	422	432	421	422	430	429	417	422	369	362
		Attendance/ Enrolment	90.36%	92.51%	90.15%	90.36%	91.88%	91.67%	89.29%	90.36%	79.01%	77.52%
		Total	868	889	878	880	866	865	847	854	679	653
		Attendance/ Enrolment	89.86%	92.03%	90.89%	91.09%	89.65%	89.54%	87.68%	88.41%	70.29%	67.66%
Urban Enrolment 966 (b) Diurnal April 1973	Converted Senior School	Total	679	689	702	705	680	680	622	639	387	387
		Attendance/ Enrolment	70.28%	71.32%	72.67%	72.98%	70.39%	70.39%	64.39%	66.15%	40.06%	40.06%
		Boys (347)	245		273		295		275		230	
Rural Enrolment 720 (By class rolls in autumn term)	New - World Bank	Attendance/ Enrolment	70.60%		78.67%		85.01		79.54%		66.28%	
		Girls (381)	290		304		277		294		246	
		Attendance/ Enrolment	76.12%		79.79%		72.70%		77.16%		64.57%	
		Total	535		577		572		570		476	
		Attendance/ Enrolment	73.49%		79.26%		78.57%		78.33%		63.38%	

Table No. XLVII

Attendance pattern by grade and stream
over seventeen selected days: May/June 1972.

		A	B	C	D	E
Grade 7	Class size	43	40	50	42	28
	Average attendance	28	20	18	20	12
	% of enrolment	65	50	36	48	42
Grade 8	Class size	42	36	48	39	46
	Average attendance	32	18	25	14	10
	% of enrolment	76	50	52	36	22
Grade 9	Class size	47	43	52	55	53
	Average attendance	33	27	16	15	9
	% of enrolment	70	62	30	27	17

The maintenance of a moderate standard of attendance in the upper streams is as evident as the marked decline in the lowest.

Staffing and class size

The rubric on staffing in the Masterplan Report stated a pupil teacher ratio of 45:1 "later to be reduced to 35:1." Despite this universally (i.e., World Bank/UNESCO funding operation and Government) approved dictum, early evidence indicated a moderating effect in the direction of smaller class size. Pape's analysis involved "Staff supply/demand in sample schools"; went on to disclose a Ministry prescription for staff size in relation to stream size which was based on a pupil/teacher ratio of 35:1. Even so, with part of his field study time spent in the Ministry, his figures for Ministry prescribed staff sizes varied from 45:1 to 31:1. Only in two cases was the number of staff prescribed commensurate with the figure of 35:1, six others being above this figure and three below.

In the event however his study recognised that both calculated needs and the actual numbers of staff found in the schools exceeded the set norm in the majority of cases. Only two schools had the prescribed staff number, and pupil/teacher ratios of 34.9:1 and 34.2:1 respectively. Three further schools had actual staff recruitment below the norm set, with pupil/teacher ratios of 36:1, 39:1 and 41:1. The remaining schools, with excess staff varying in number from two in a three stream to five and six in nine and six stream schools had pupil teacher ratios as low as 27:1 and none higher than 32.2:1.

Field study data enabled the examination of this trend, which continued almost invariably. Table No. XLVIII indicates pupil teacher ratio in six of the nine schools visited: makes the assumption that the Principal is a non-teaching member of staff, and again revives the variation between new, World Bank and Converted Senior schools.

Table No. XLVIII

Data from six Junior secondary schools showing location, type, capacity, enrolment, staffing and pupil/teacher ratio (Principal excluded).

Location	Type	Capacity	Enrolment	Staff	P/T on Capacity	P/T on Enrolment
Rural	World Bank	810	Not av.*	26	31	28
Rural	World Bank	810	660	10	40	33
Urban	World Bank	675	618	24	28	26
Urban	Converted Senior	945	904	35	27	26
Rural	World Bank	810	696	22	37	32
Urban	Converted Senior	500	559	21	24	27

* Attendance figure of 728 used.

Staffing: training and qualifications

Further evidence from Tape (1971) and Dick (1972) gave insight into experience, qualifications and status of staff in samples which together comprised a total of three hundred and thirty two teachers in Junior Secondary schools. Tape's sample included (in 252 teachers) eighty secondary trained and sixty nine primary trained. Only nineteen pre-trained teachers were listed, together with forty four interns. A further nineteen were graduates. Only forty five, not including the graduates, had pre-entry qualifications above the minimum for acceptance at a training college. Sixty three did not list qualifications at all, but of these fifty three were trained. A staff turnover rate varying between five and fifty six per cent was noted. Three schools, all rural, disclosed turnover rates of 42%, 50% and 56% respectively, staff mobility being attributed both to superior urban working conditions and the higher rewards offered by occupations outside teaching. Dick's study⁽¹⁾ of six schools (two converted seniors included, and examining 100 teachers) extended the evidence on teacher experience. Teachers with over ten years in the classroom, or with between five and ten years experience predominated in the senior converted schools but varied from thirty eight per cent to eighteen per cent of the staff in four World Bank schools.⁽²⁾ Interns comprised one twentieth part of the staff in the two converted schools but one sixth of the staff in the four newer schools.

The schools visited in 1973 disclosed the following material on staff qualification or status.

Table No. XLIX

Staff qualifications in six Junior Secondary schools, by location and type.

Location	Type	Staff Qualifications			
		Graduate	Trained	Intern	Pre-Trained
Rural	World Bank	1	21	5	-
Rural	World Bank	3	12	5	3
Urban	World Bank	3	20	-	4
Urban	Converted Senior	1	29	4	2
Rural	World Bank	1	15	3	4
Urban	Converted Senior	1	18	3	-

(1) Dick, L.G. "The task of the Junior Secondary Principal in Curriculum and Instruction" School of Education, U.W.I. B. Ed. thesis, June 1972.

(2) Ibid. Table 7.6, p 75.

Examinations in the Junior Secondary Schools

The situation governing both the application of, and preparation for examinations as a means to evaluating progress was ambivalent. In the first place, the Junior Secondary school sector was not geared to the preparation of candidates for external examinations, being too short a cycle. The new Jamaica School Certificate was intended to evaluate progress at the Grade 10 level. Four schools out of the nine seen did retain some pupils for a Tenth Grade but managed this in the face of a Ministry directive that such pupils should not involve time, space or facilities which, properly, were intended for grades 7 - 9.

The three paper Grade Nine Achievement Test (G.N.A.T.) sufficed as a terminal examination for pupils in the age range but it held little prospect of advancement for its entrants. Overshadowed by the Jamaica School Certificate (J.S.C.) it suffered equally by being associated with the all-age sector and in supplanting the more respected Jamaica Local examination. The latter⁽¹⁾,

"Was not set in (1969) In spite of very short notice, some 4,000 children sat the G.N.A.T. and on the basis of the results, about 850 Junior Secondary School-leavers were awarded free tuition in secondary high schools."

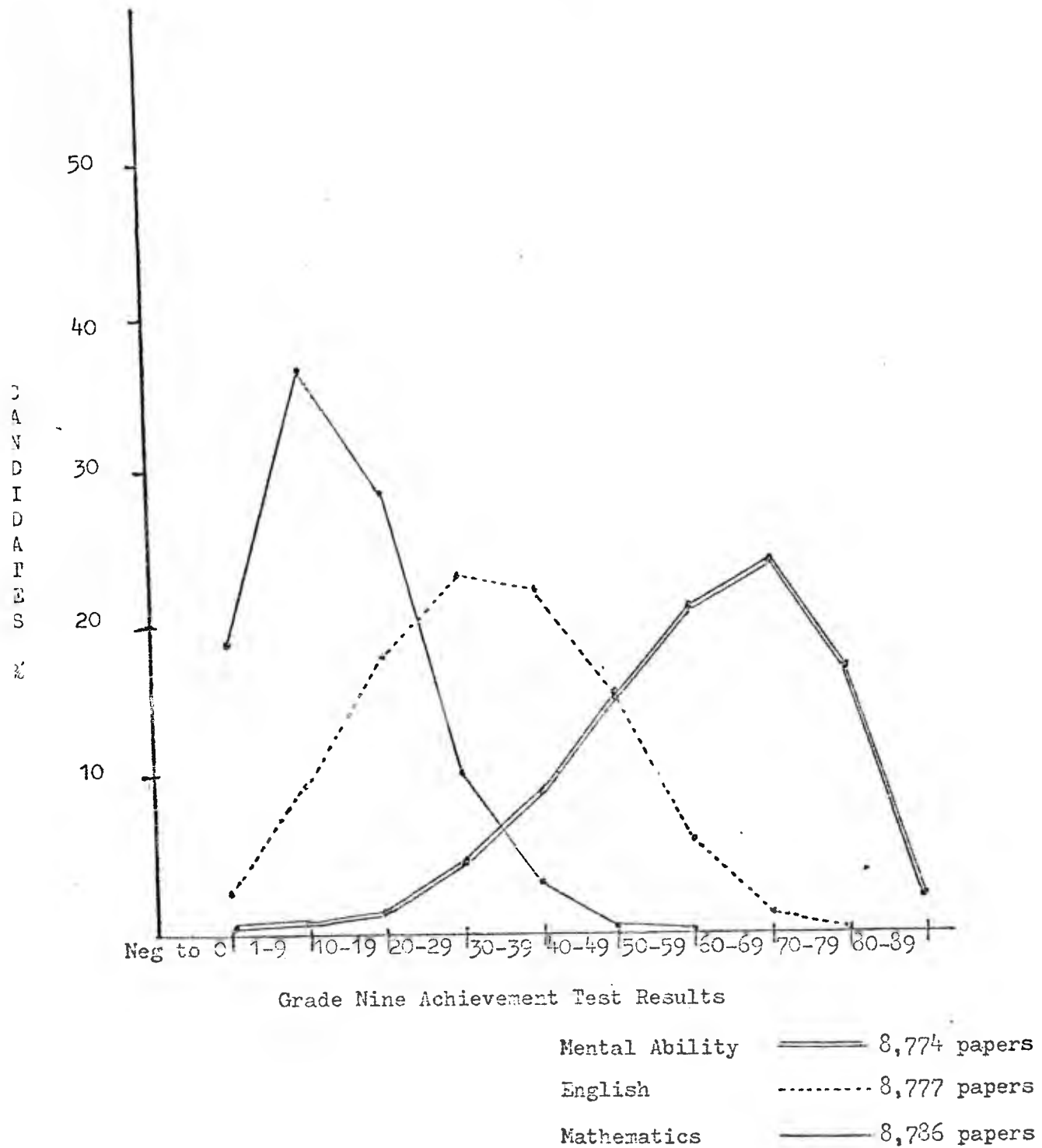
This "success" rate (21 per cent) related to a sector population whose true proportions were clouded by the effects of wastage examined previously, but which could be projected as being of the order of 4,500 - 5,500 in the ninth grade. Qualitatively, the value of the exercise was equally questionable. In the Performance Report for the following year⁽²⁾ over eight thousand papers for the G.N.A.T. were processed, though differentiation as between all-age and junior secondary schools was not possible. The results are represented in Fig. **VI**. An unfortunate reflection is that they offered support for the range of argument, which supported elitist trends in academic secondary schooling, suggesting, as they did, low levels of competence in literacy and numeracy. Yet this was belied by the potential disclosed by the candidates' performance on the mental ability paper.

1969-1970

1) Performance Report Sect. XIII

2) Performance Report, 1970 - 1971, Ministry of Education, Kingston, 1972.

Test Scores: Grade Nine Achievement Tests June 1970



Source: Revised from: "Performance Report" Ministry of Education, Kingston Jamaica, 1971

As to the most used examination, the Jamaica School Certificate, the 1969-70 Performance Report set out the data, but again did not disclose the proportional origin of school candidates. (1)

"This continues to be by far the most popular examination set by the Ministry in terms of the number of entries.

The pre-examination data shows 39,811 entries, with 20 candidates entering for 16 - 20 subjects each. The exact number of students actually taking the examination has not yet been computed, but there is a fairly high drop-out rate.

The results suggest that the majority of candidates tend to underestimate the difficulty of the examination and to enter without adequate preparation.

Only 30.8% claim to have completed Grade 10 (the level of the examination) and 48.1% to have completed Grade 9. The remaining 21.1% include 9.2% who have attended Evening classes in addition to completing Grade 6.

A study of the Mean Scores of these groups shows a positive relationship between educational background and examination results.

The overall mean in English language was 22.81. The group completing Grade 10 are therefore 8.53 above the mean. Those completing Grade 9 are 1.13 below the mean and those with Grade 6 and Evening classes have, on average, 2.72 below the mean."

Candidates passing eight or more subjects numbered 232 and those passing ten subjects, 47. The number of subject passes was 17,816 but those candidates gaining the "full certificate" (five subjects including Mathematics, English and Civics) fell from 1,320 in 1967 to 418 in 1969. Percentages of candidates obtaining Pass levels in Biology, History and Geography were 45.8, 21.2 and 34.5 respectively.

As a result of policy decisions in 1967 the Ministry have embraced the technique of objective testing, and machine or computer scored tests have tended to supplant the traditional examining techniques.

(1) Performance Report. 1969-1970.

Op.cit. Section XIII p 4.

As the Ministry comments:

"Candidates are less penalized than in the essay-type test by poor ability to express their ideas in words. Although every candidate must be literate enough to read the questions and instructions, his poor English need not greatly reduce his score in such subjects as Mathematics and Science. Objective tests tend therefore, to be more valid than essay tests."(1)

It should be recognised that policy decisions taken at Ministry level, however validated, may not have been shared by those who could constitute what may be termed 'the traditional and academic lobby'. Even the authorities, notably Vernon, from whose authoritative advice decisions were formulated, could not ensure a panacea. Vernon's advice, specific in the evaluation of English, and in the mechanics of the selective process, scoring, was moderated.

"The former should be based more on written response than on underlining it will be essential to employ better qualified scorers than at present."(2)

His comments were directly related to the process of selection for secondary education, but the G.N.A.T. and the J.S.C. presented the same entry qualifications to late candidates for transfer, or for entry into Teacher training or higher education in institutions such as C.A.S.T.

Examination practice in Junior Secondary and Senior departments

If one can view the Jamaicanisation of the High schools in 'high visibility' terms, that is by acknowledging their transition from high elite establishments to a situation where they manifestly cater also for entrants from Manley's⁽³⁾ social class grading categories four, five and six (skilled and semi-skilled manual, Farmers and unskilled) which include aspirants to the emergent Black middle class, then there is a positive and startling correlation between the academic goals of the state system and those of the 'high status' academic secondary sector.

This was seen in Strumpel's terms;⁽⁴⁾

"an individual's consumption aspirations have a positive influence on his readiness to accept opportunities to change his way of life to increase his productive contribution to the economy,"

1) Ibid. Sect. XIII, p 6

2) Vernon, P.E. Selection for Secondary Education in Jamaica. 1960. p.2. para 8.

3) Manley, D. Op. cit.

4) Strumpel, B. Op. cit.

by parents who could both muster the resources and grasp the opportunity for their children and who could also eschew practical aptitudes in favour of academic goals linked to distant gratification.

Evidence from the Examinations section of the 1971 Performance report disclosed global figures for the 1970 J.S.C. examination, across thirty two subjects and offering comparison of performance levels between 1965 and 1970. For the purpose of analysis it must be recognised that these figures denote candidates both from All-age schools and Junior Secondary schools, albeit voluntary pupils staying on beyond statutory school age, or those enjoying the benefit of private tuition from school teachers, often headmasters or headmistresses. They must also include marginal proportions from technical high schools and one or two academic high schools and post school-age candidates from Evening Classes. The proportions, with the data given, were impossible to gauge. It is the format and curriculum choice of the examination, as practised which promotes comment.

Analysis of J.S.C. Results, by subject and subject grouping and percentage pass-rates 1965 - 1970.

Subjects and Subject Groups		1965	1966	1967	1968	1969	1970	65-70 mean
		Percentage Passes						
Formal or Academic subject grouping	English Language	46	42	46	13	14	28	31.75
	English Literature	35	39	34	29	35.5	10.9	30.56
	Mathematics	21	15	49	14	15.8	5.2	20
	History	43	34	15	18	21.2	23	25.7
	Geography	38	40	36	50	34.5	12.9	35.2
	Civics	57	42	54	42	18.3	29.4	30.8
	Spanish	60	-	47	29	42.9	29	34.6
	Bible Knowledge	41	38	60	27	36.2	20.2	37.1
	General Science A	75.8	31	67	28	10	19.6	38.6
	General Science B	94	57	60	24	22.1	19.2	45.9
	Health Science	27	48	59	12	17	19.2	30.4
	Additional Maths	7	16	12	2	11.8	3.5	8.7
	Biology	29	20	41	27	45.9	42.4	34.2
Mean of 'formal' subjects		44.14	35.17	44.6	24.15	25.06	20.25	
Creative or Vocational subject grouping	Art	76	52	47	74	74.5	78.1	66.9
	Craft	82.8	15	71	84.5	89.4	79.7	70.4
	Art & Crafts	66.6	-	98	32	65.3	88.5	70.1
	Cookery & Nutrition	91	-	55	78	84.4	63.9	74.5
	Needlework & Dressmaking	92	-	47	72	92.9	63.6	73.5
	Woodwork	56	16	69	19	43.6	39.5	40.5
	Commercial pract.	68	14	31	21	41.7	59.0	39.1
	Agriculture	57	42	48	22	44.4	27.7	40.2
	Home Management	92.8	-	58	73	92.3	64.9	76.2
	Principles of Accounts	32	47	29	25	16.9	35.9	31
	Technical Drawing	29	43	60	37	38.7	42.7	41.7
	Typing	22	28	39	20	35	17.8	27
	Shorthand	6	9	6	4	4.1	8.4	6.25
Mean of creative/voc'l subjects		59.32	29.55	50.61	43.19	55.63	51.51	
Practical or technical subject grouping	Plumbing	100	75	71	65	60.8	75	74.5
	Metalwork	67	45	40	46	61.2	60.9	53.3
	Elect'l install'n	100	35	55	48	44.5	65.4	58
	Auto mechanics	67.8	-	49	42	21.2	52.3	46.6
	Prelim. technical Science	54	44	51	43	50.1	37	46.5
	Agric. Science	61	38	34	48	38.2	16.3	39.25
Mean of tech/Pract subjects		74.96	47.4	50	48.6	46	53.02	

Source: Devised from Table 16 Examination Section Performance Report 1971.
Ministry of Education, Kingston.

Matters of some concern are disclosed by Table No. I . The disparity between performance levels over time may, it is assumed, be attributable to factors such as the emergence of the new Junior Secondary sector. It would seem that the 1965 performance level accounted in some measure for the level of credibility of the original Senior schools, though the table relates only to qualitative standards and does not disclose the number of students entered. The subsequent drop in examination standards (circa 1968), though unaccompanied by data on the size of entry, may well have been due to the emergence of entrants from Junior Secondary schools, subject to new staff and representative of an untried system, and also to the vitiating effect upon all-age schools, noted in the previous chapter, of staff wastage by transfer of teachers to the new system - often it may be assumed - for administrative rather than teaching roles. (At a simplistic level the following hypothesis is offered: 50 new J/S Principals = minus 50 grade 10 teachers = (say) 2,000 candidates = 10,000 subject entries). Certainly the results in the ensuing years bear little trace of a marked improvement in standards (from 38.6% overall in 1968 to 42.33% and 41.59% in 1969 and 1970 respectively).

Subject Choice in J.S.C. Examination

The range of subjects examined lends itself to arbitrary grouping as shown. The disparity between performance levels is apparent, though once again the size of student entry was not generally disclosed. In 1965 for example the two practical subjects gaining a one hundred per cent record represented two entries.

This issue of student entry proportions was possible in the case of the last year shown and Table No. II shows that emphasis upon the subjects classified as formal was not so much considerable as overwhelming. In effect the Ministry information recognised a ninety five per cent (95%) subscription to the thirteen subjects under this classification, with three and a half per cent entry to creative or vocational subjects (also thirteen in number and the ones most ignored in 1966) and a small proportion, barely over one and one third per cent of entries for practical subjects. Further data from the Ministry ⁽¹⁾ revealed that adherence to these favoured formal subjects brought about a moderation in proportionate entry. In the

(1) Performance Report. 1970-1971.

Op.cit. Table 9 Examination section.

early candidature for subject entry in 1970, formal subjects represented 93.55% of all entries whereas the fall-out rate of candidates between application and actual examination entry resulted in a larger drop-out for both the other groups, with the formal subject group retaining more than 95% of the final entry.

Table No. LI

Jamaica School Certificate 1970: Summary of
entries and candidature by subject groups.

Subjects and subject grouping	Pre-examination entries	Actual candidates	Drop-out rate %
English language	31,096	28,459	8.5
English literature	1,621	898	4.6
Mathematics	27,629	25,100	9.2
History	20,517	18,442	10.1
Geography	6,270	5,078	19.1
Civics	26,607	24,006	9.5
Spanish	1,949	1,464	25
Bible Knowledge	19,438	17,294	11.1
General Science 'A'	7,060	6,110	13.5
General Science 'B'	4,278	3,341	22
Health Science	22,073	19,400	12.1
Additional Maths.	1,680	1,056	37.1
Biology	11,971	10,347	13.6
Group total and % of candidature	181,829 (93.5%)	161,075 (95.12%)	11.4
Art	1,154	736	36.2
Craft	222	118	46.9
Art and Craft	104	26	75
Cookery and Nutrition	1,263	844	33.2
Needlework & Dressmaking	507	283	44.2
Woodwork	292	200	31.6
Commercial practice	659	456	30.3
Agriculture	1,177	758	35.6
Home Management	640	424	33.75
Principles of Accounts	700	465	33.6
Technical Drawing	816	529	35.2
Typing	1,372	829	39.6
Shorthand	533	285	46.5
Group total and % of candidature	9,198 (4.7%)	5,953 (3.5%)	35.3
Plumbing	30	16	46.7
Metalwork	346	248	28.3
Electrical installation	186	130	30.1
Auto Mechanics	185	107	42.2
Prelim. Tech. Science	707	473	33.1
Agricultural Science	1,874	1,328	29.1
Group total and % of candidature	3,328 (1.7%)	2,302 (1.36%)	30.8
Grand total	194,355	169,330	12.9
Total candidates	39,628	36,687	7.4

Qualitative analysis in 1970 J.S.C. Results

The respective subject groupings showed marked divergence in performance levels. Further analysis (Table No. LI) showed that the largest group of subject entries gained a mean standard of pass levels of only 20.25 per cent with Biology rating most highly at 42.4 per cent and Additional Maths as the lowest at 3.5 per cent. In the subjects grouped as creative or vocational, 3.5 per cent of all entrants mustered a mean pass level of 51.51 per cent and the smallest group - technical and practical - only 1.36 per cent of candidates, had a pass rate of 53.02 per cent.

Performance levels in 1970 J.S.C. Examination

It should be recognised however that the sponsorship of formal and academic subjects entailed some manipulation of standards in its arrival at the proportions noted above. Table No. LII giving distribution of marks awarded discloses pass levels fixed almost invariably at 40% and above for the subjects grouped as creative or technical. However, in order to establish even the moderate level of success noted in the previous table, it can be seen that the pass level in the formal group of subjects was allowed to fall as low as 35% in nine out of the thirteen subjects included. Given an all-through pass mark of 40% the mean performance level of the largest group of entrants, as the table shows, would have dropped to little over 15 per cent.

These differential standards of performance operated throughout the marking scale as can be seen by the proportions of pupils entering or achieving significant levels. Although retention rates appeared, on a proportionate basis, to favour the formal subject area, it must be recognised that the actual number of pre-examination dropouts there was 20,754, compared with 3,245 for creative and vocational studies and 1,026 for the smallest group of practical subjects.

The summary of subject group performance at less than pass standard indicated that almost twice as big a proportion of formal subject entrants failed (78.17 per cent) as was the case for creative subjects (41.41 per cent) and practical subjects (43.27 per cent). Though at the level of a bare pass the proportions of candidates were more evenly matched they diverged sharply and progressively thereafter, with the degree of success for both creative and practical subject groups escalating from more

than twice to nearly ten times that of the formal subjects up to the level of 80% of the marking scale. Beyond this point, arbitrarily selected as denoting distinction level the gap was wider still and this promoted interest in the examination of candidate performance at this standard.

Degrees of excellence in J.S.C. candidates

As Table No. III shows, seven of the formal and ten of the creative subjects sponsored distinction level pupils. While the practical entrants were representative of three subjects out of six it should be recognised that these three sponsored nearly eighty four per cent of candidates in the whole group. The seven formal subjects, comprised 58 per cent of all candidates and secured barely forty per cent of all distinction level passes, while the next group, two and a half per cent of all candidates offering creative subjects, secured an almost equal proportion and a miniscule group (less than one per cent) of practical candidates secured twenty per cent of all distinction passes gained.

It seems of interest to note also the variation in performance as between male and female pupils. This was possible in the case of practical lessons which characteristically operate on a single-sex, half class basis. Thus girls, and boys practical curriculum performance was isolated to form Table No. IV. Certain assumptions were made on the generalised basis of girls more probably being involved in Shorthand and Typing. Otherwise, the cohorts were relatively even with some economics subjects roll being slightly smaller than that of the boys practical group. It may be inferred, from the juxtaposition of this small candidature with previous comment on the preponderance of girls in the upper streams, that many girls were persuaded away from practical subjects.

Jamaica School Certificate 1970
Distribution of marks by subjects and
subject groups and by pass/fail ratios. Ø

Subjects and subject groupings	% scoring 34% & below	% scoring 35 - 39%	% scoring 40 - 59%	% scoring 60 - 79%	% scoring 80%+
English language	60.29	10.9	26.8	2.0	0.01
English literature	84.2	4.9	10.0	0.9	-
Mathematics	94.76	1.8	2.7	0.7	0.04
History	77.0	8.9	13.1	1.0	-
Geography	87.1	4.7	7.5	0.7	-
Civics	70.56	10.2	17.9	1.3	0.04
Spanish	67.65	5.4	18.9	7.3	0.75
Bible Knowledge	79.94	7.3	11.5	1.2	0.06
General Science 'A'	80.38	7.9	10.8	0.9	0.02
General Science 'B'	80.8	8.1	10.6	0.5	-
Health Science	80.8	7.7	10.9	0.6	-
Additional Maths	94.9	1.5	3.1	0.4	-
Biology	57.78	10.2	26.4	5.6	0.02
Mean % for subject group	78.17	6.89	13.09	1.78	.07
Art	15.2	6.7	55.4	20.9	1.8
Craft	13.6	6.7	38.2	39.0	2.5
Art and Craft	11.5	-	61.6	26.9	-
Cookery and Nutrition	29.58	6.5	46.2	17.6	0.12
Needlework and Dressmaking	28.84	7.6	37.8	24.7	1.06
Woodwork	48	12.5	37.0	2.5	-
Commercial practice	32.63	9.6	38.6	16.1	3.07
Agriculture	54.6	17.7	26.9	0.8	-
Home management	27.36	7.7	39.2	25.5	0.24
Principles of Accounts	57	7.1	20.2	12.5	3.2
Technical Drawing	49.74	7.6	30.4	11.5	0.76
Typing	79.68	2.5	13.7	3.0	1.12
Shorthand	90.55	1.1	3.1	4.2	1.05
Mean % for subject group	41.41	7.17	34.48	15.78	1.15
Plumbing	25	-	37.5	37.5	-
Metalwork	33.5	5.6	52.8	8.1	-
Electrical installation	29.2	5.4	20.0	26.2	19.2
Auto Mechanics	41.1	6.6	36.4	15.9	-
Prelim. Tech Science	58.6	4.4	25.8	9.5	1.7
Agricultural Science	71.13	12.6	15.3	0.4	0.07
Mean % for subject group	43.27	5.77	31.38	16.26	3.33

Ø Pass mark denoted by shaded line.

Devised from Performance Report 1971. Ministry of Education.
Examination Section Table 9, 12, 14.

Table No. LIII

J.S.C. Results 1970 by Subjects and subject groups: % Distribution of Distinction grades (accepting 80%+ as distinction category)

Subjects and subject groups	Candidature (a)	No. of passes at 80%+ (b)	(b) as % of (a)	
English language	28,459	3	.01	Col (b) all objective test results, except Spanish.
Mathematics	25,100	10	.04	
Civics	24,086	10	.04	
Biology	10,347	24	.23	
General Science 'A'	6,110	1	.02	
Bible Knowledge	17,294	10	.06	
Spanish	1,464	11	.75	
Totals and mean of %	112,860	69	0.16	
% of all J.S.C. entrants	58.07			
% of all Dist'n passes	40.59			
Art	736	13	1.76	
Craft	118	3	2.5	
Commercial practice	456	14	3.07	
Cookery and Nutrition	844	1	.12	
Home Management	424	1	.24	
Needlework and Dressmaking	283	3	1.06	
Principles of Accounts	465	15	3.23	
Shorthand	285	3	1.05	
Technical Drawing	529	4	.76	
Typing	829	10	1.21	
Totals and mean of %	4,969	67	1.5	
% of all J.S.C. entrants	2.56			
% of all Dist'n passes	39.41			
Agricultural Science	1,328	1	.075	
Prelim. Technical Science	473	8	1.69	
Electrical installation	130	25	19.23	
Totals and mean of %	1,931	34	6.99	
% of all J.S.C. entrants	.99			
% of all Dist'n passes	20			

Source: Devised from Tab's 9 and 12, Examination Section,
Performance Report 1971. Ministry of Education, Kingston.

Table No. LIV

J.S.C. Results 1970: Subjects classified as Girls or Boys timetable and subject allocation, showing candidature and entry, pass rate and distinction levels.

Girls subjects	Pre-exam. entries	Actual entrants	Drop-out rate %	Pass Rate %	Distinction (80%+) %
Cookery and Nutrition	1,263	844	33.2	63.9	0.12
Needlework and Dressmaking	507	283	44.2	63.6	1.06
Home Management	640	424	33.75	64.9	0.24
Typing	1,372	829	39.6	17.8	1.12
Shorthand	533	285	46.5	8.4	1.05
Totals and mean of %	4,315	2,665	39.45	43.72	.72
Boys subjects					
Woodwork	292	200	31.6	39.5	-
Agriculture	1,177	758	35.6	27.7	-
Technical Drawing	816	529	35.2	42.7	0.76
Metalwork	346	248	28.32	60.9	-
Totals and mean of %	2,631	1,735	32.68	42.7	0.19

CHAPTER SEVEN.SECONDARY EDUCATION

The comparative wealth of data, including post-war Reports of Committees (Kandel 1943, Easter 1946), relevant sections of Independent legislation ("New Deal": Ministry Paper No. 73, 1966), and Synod reports, indicates attitudes toward the secondary age range which are influenced by elitism and tradition.

It is possible to examine this sector in terms of the characteristics of schools as they have varied by region and type. Staffing, size, school space and sponsorship have differentiated according to status as 'grammar', technical or comprehensive as well as urban or rural setting but most significantly the quality of school life has been worlds apart from that examined in the primary and all-age schools.

Curriculum has served, among other things, to accentuate this degree of difference. Largely influenced by un-indigenous tradition its course has adhered to the lines of formal precept and practice, has been conservative in nature and resisted, in the main, demands made upon the schools to serve the needs of a developing economy.

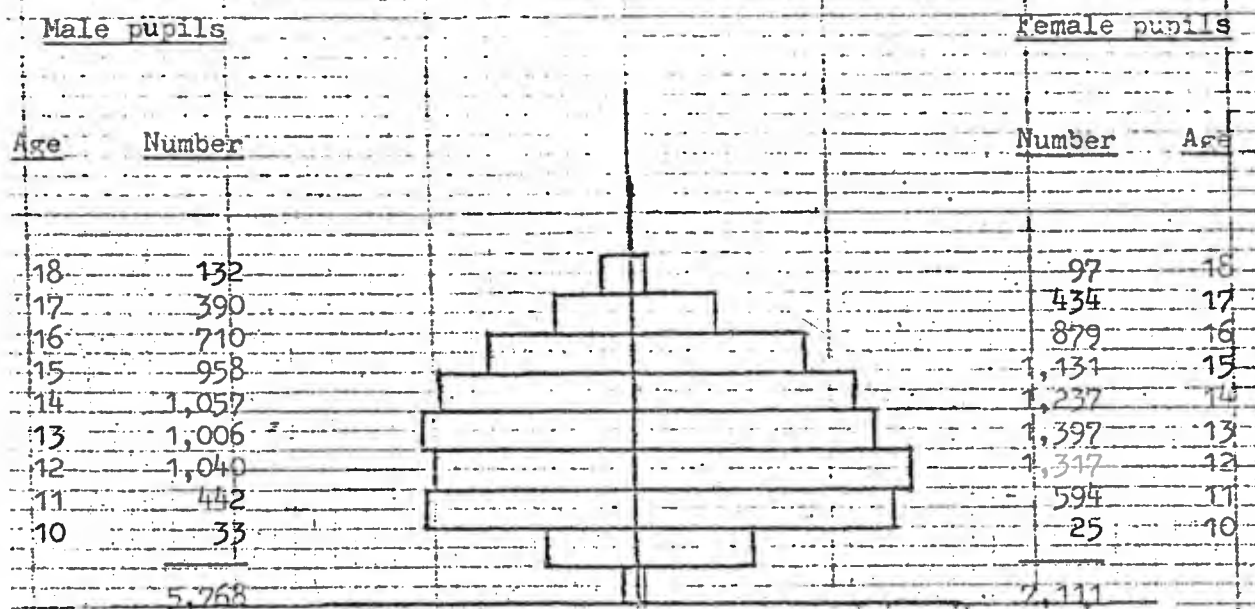
Aspiration levels concerned either with the self perpetuating or self recruiting principles of social mobility have ensured the place of the examination process high among school goals. It would seem that attempts to re-structure examinable curriculum content in order to encourage more technical skills have met with only moderate success.

Social distance has not narrowed appreciably and the conditions and values within the schools have continued to accentuate rather than moderate social class differences.

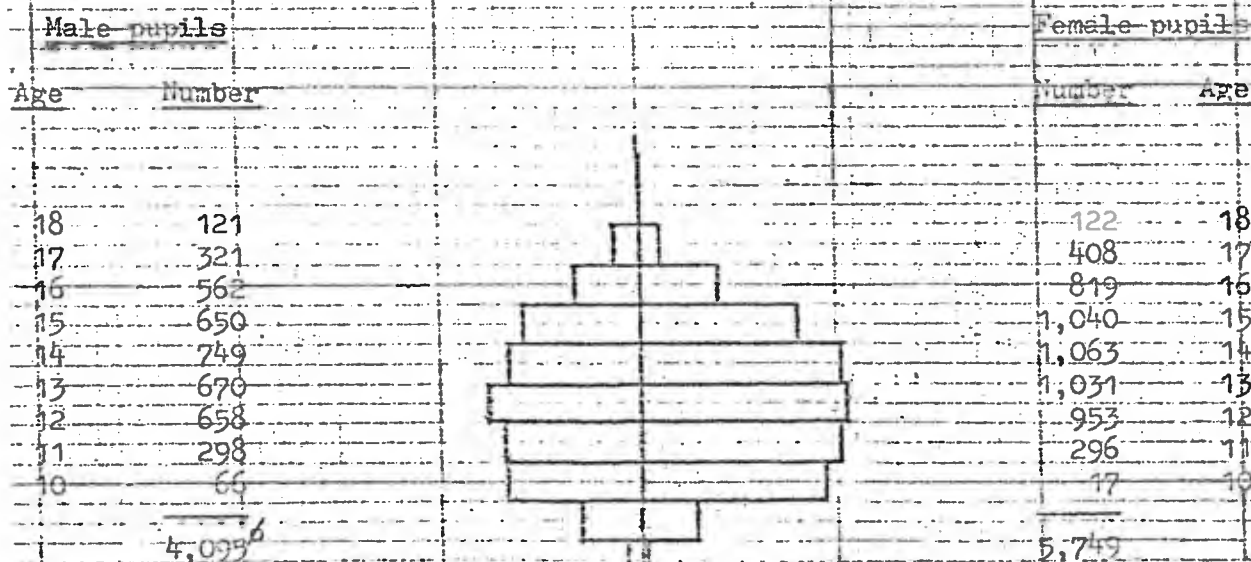
One way in which this might be seen was the variation in retention rates between the state, primary and all-age, and the aided secondary sectors. Figures VII-XI show the disposition of pupils by sex, age and forms, in the respective schools, the high schools of all classifications appear to exemplify consistent attendance, at least until the year groups where the significant external examinations appeared.

Secondary High School Population - by Sex and Age:

Corporate Area/Provincial Schools. (1)



Corporate Area schools (18)



Provincial schools (22)

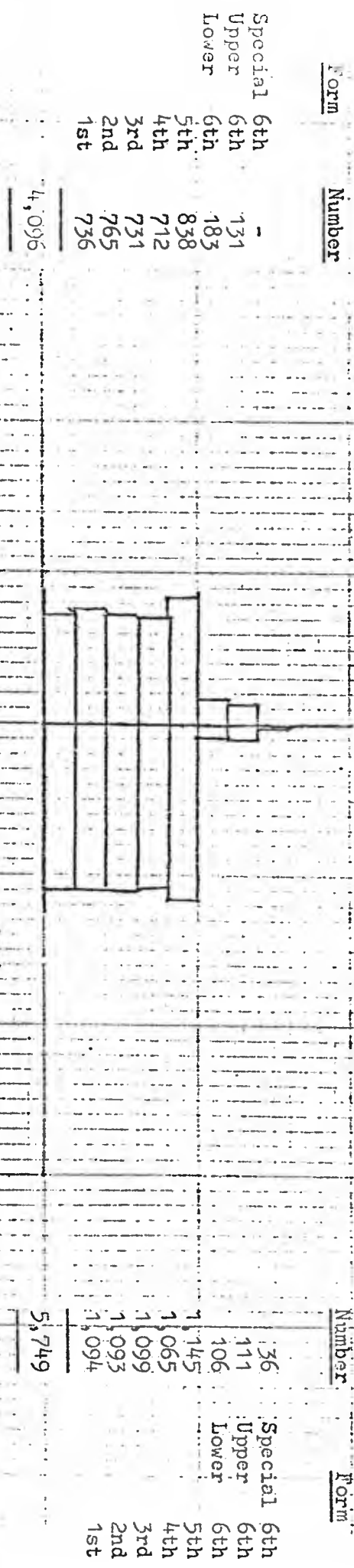
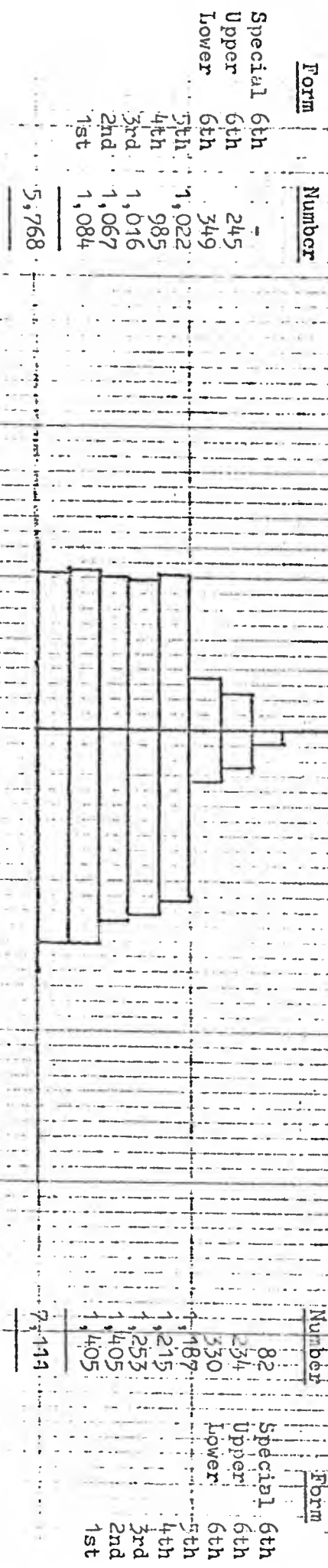
Data as given

Scale: 1" = 1,000 pupils

1. from (1) "Performance Report" Sect. XIV "Public and Government-aided institutions under the Ministry of Education, Jamaica: (Year 1968/69)

FIGURE IX

Secondary High School population - by Sex and Forms: Corporate Area/Provincial schools (11)



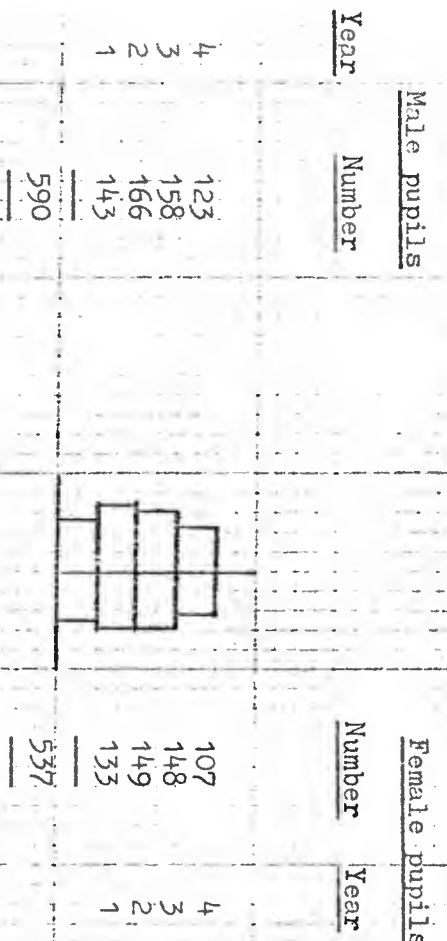
Scale: 1" = 1,000 pupils

FIGURE X

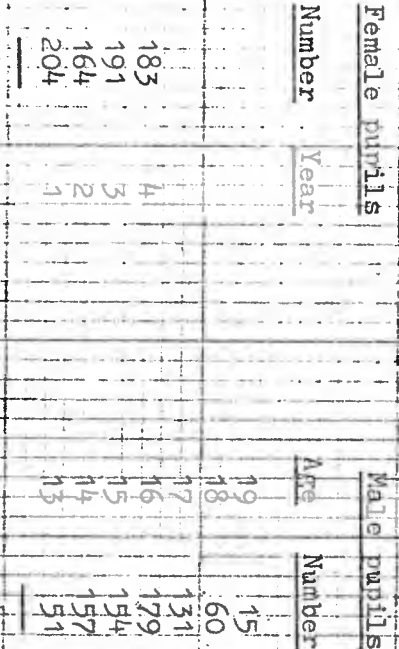
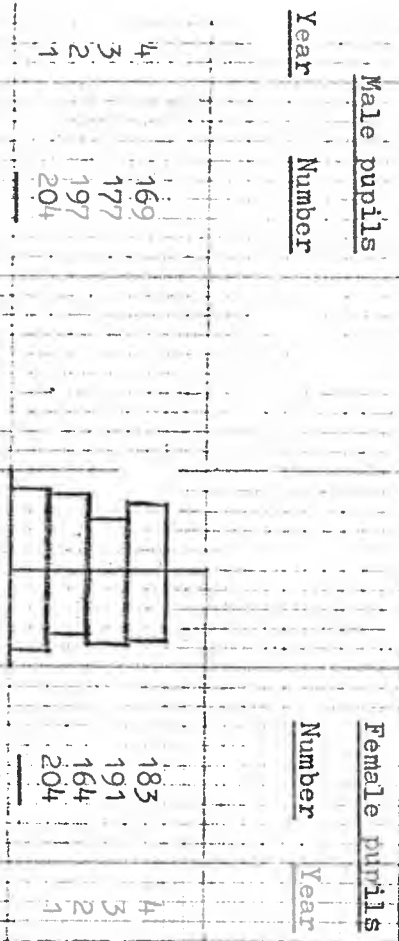
Secondary Technical High schools.

(a) Enrolment by Sex and Year (1)
(b) Enrolment by Sex and Age.

(a)



Corporate Area Schools (2)



Rural Schools (3)

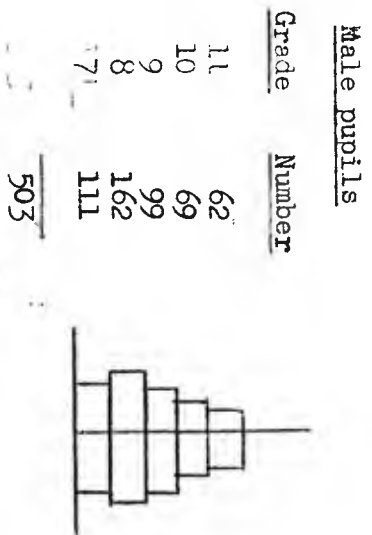
Scale: 1" = 500 pupils

* Data for 4th school incomplete (M 369 F 323)

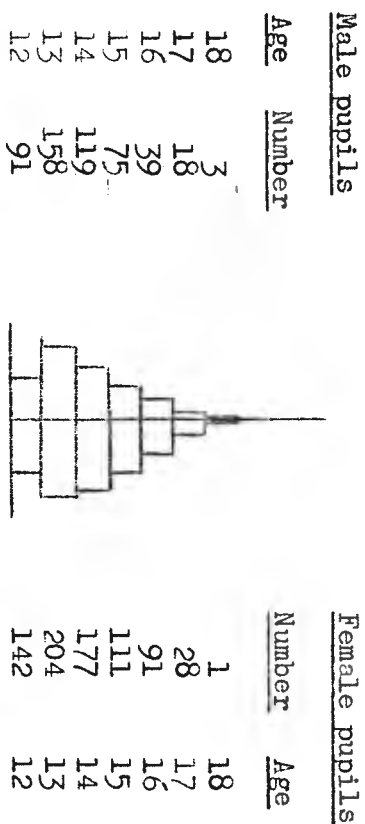
FIGURE XI.

Enrolment in Comprehensive high schools, 1968-69. (1)

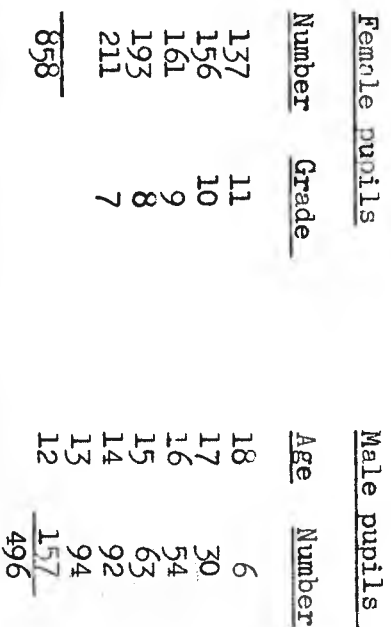
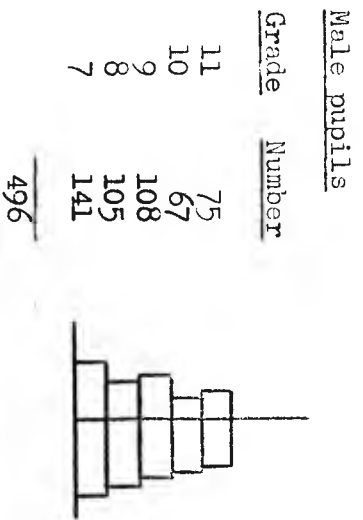
(a) Enrolment by sex and grade.



(b) Enrolment by sex and age.



CORPORATE AREA COMPREHENSIVE SCHOOL.



RURAL COMPREHENSIVE SCHOOL.

Scale : 1" = 500 pupils.

Secondary Education for the '70's.

As befits its position of eminence and prestige within the structure of education in the island, the Secondary High school sector is well chronicled. The emerging Technical and Comprehensive High schools are included however in Table No. LV , showing the 1972 - 73 figures, including separation into single-sex and co-educational institutions and by location.

TABLE NO. LV

Disposition of Secondary schools by type, sex and location

Schools	Kingston and St. Andrew Corporate Area			Extra-metropolitan parishes			Totals
	Boys	Girls	Co-ed	Boys	Girls	Co-ed	
High	5	8	5	2	6	14	40
Technical High	-	-	2	-	-	4	6
Comprehensive High	-	-	2	-	-	1	3
Totals	5	8	9	2	6	19	49

The origins and sponsorship of island schools have already been commented upon and in the case of the secondary sector these features have been drawn up in Table No. LVI together with such variables as location by parish, sex, categorisation as day or boarding and approximate figures on school size and status of staff.

TABLE NO. LVI A

Data common to schools in the Secondary Sector
Kingston and St. Andrew Corporate Area. (1)

HIGH SCHOOLS							
Parish	School	Sex	Day/Boarding	Sponsor	Staff		Pupils
					Grad.	Non Grad.	
Kingston	Ardenne	M	Day	Church of God (U.S.)	26	13	790
"	Camperdown	M	Day	United Church of Jamaica and Grand Cayman	11	8	410
"	Alpha Academy	G	Boarding	R.C. Convent of Mercy	32	34	920
"	Excelstior	M	Day	Methodist	65	6	1,080
"	Holy Childhood	G	Boarding	R.C. Franciscan	13	17	522
"	Immaculate Conception	G	Boarding	R.C. Franciscan	41	17	902
"	Jamaica College	B	Day	Trust	37	9	670
"	Kingston College	B	Day	Anglican Church	55	19	1,370
"	Meadowbrook	M	Day	United Church of Jamaica and Grand Cayman	11	6	350
"	Oberlin	N	Boarding	Disciples of Christ (U.S.)	7	6	230
St. Andrew	Queens	G	Day	Anglican Church	19	6	480
"	St. Andrew	G	Day	Methodist/United Church of Jamaica	29	6	710
"	St. George's College	B	Day	R.C.	27	15	960
"	St. Hugh's	G	Day	Anglican Church	31	11	718
"	Wolmers	G	Day	Trust	31	9	740
"	Wolmers	B	Day	Trust	30	5	700
"	Calabar	B	Boarding	Baptist Church	19	22	760
"	Merl Grove	G	Day	Rehoboth Church	14	11	468
TOTAL - HIGH SCHOOLS					478	220	12,780
TECHNICAL SCHOOLS							
Kingston	Kingston	M	Day	Government	31	14	570
St. Andrew	St. Andrew	M	Day	Government	22	20	520
TOTAL - TECHNICAL SCHOOLS					53	34	1,090
COMPREHENSIVE SCHOOLS							
	Tivoli Gardens	M	Day	Government	5	24	1,200
	Trench Town	M	Day	Government	8	37	1,130
TOTAL - COMPREHENSIVE SCHOOLS					13	61	2,330

Data common to schools in the Secondary Sector
Extra-Metropolitan Parishes. (1)

TABLE NO. LVI B

HIGH SCHOOLS		Sex	Day/Boarding	Sponsor	Enroll		Pupils
Parish	School				Grnd.	Non Grnd.	
St. Catherine	St. Catherine	G	Day	R.C. (Sisters of Mercy)	9	6	350
"	St. Jago	M	Day	Trust	25	11	820
"	St. Mary's College	M	Day	R.C.	4	8	245
Clarendon	Knox College	M	Day/Boarding	United Church of Jamaica and Grand Cayman	19	6	550
"	Glennair	M	Day	Church of England in Jamaica	18	10	400
"	Clarendon	M	Boarding	United Church of Jamaica and Grand Cayman	21	21	850
Manchester	Manchester	M	Day	Trust	16	15	510
St. Elizabeth	Hampton	G	Boarding	Trust	8	4	410
"	Hamro	B	Boarding	Trust	10	6	370
Westmoreland	Hammings	M	Day	Trust	18	22	760
Renover	Buscon	M	Day	Trust	15	31	1,200
St. James	Mt. Alvernia	G	Day	R.C. (Presbyterian)	11	11	400
"	Cornwall	B	Boarding	Government	30	11	745
"	Montego Bay High	G	Day	Government	19	15	630
Portland	Westwood	G	Boarding	Trust	8	3	250
St. Ann	York Castle	M	Day	Methodist	16	8	420
"	St. Hilda's	G	Boarding	Church of England in Jamaica	10	10	345
"	Perncourt	M	Day	Government	6	8	350
St. Mary	St. Mary's High	M	Day	Government	9	11	410
Portland	Witchfield	M	Day	Trust/Government Bd.	18	15	580
"	Happy Grove	M	Boarding	Society of Friends (Quaker)	8	3	319
St. Thomas	Lorient Bay	M	Boarding	Methodist	11	9	310
TOTAL - HIGH SCHOOLS					509	249	11,052
TECHNICAL SCHOOLS							
St. Catherine	Dintbill	M	Day	Government	8	26	480
Clarendon	Vere	M	Day	Government	18	21	560
Manchester	Holmwood	M	Day	Government	15	21	560
St. Elizabeth	St. Elizabeth	M	Day	Government	14	16	560
TOTAL - TECHNICAL SCHOOLS					55	84	2,160
Clarendon	Frankfield	M	Day	Government	10	43	1,354

On the basis of this information a number of variables in terms of general staffing ratios and qualifications were apparent.

TABLE NO. LVI

Pupils per teacher and Graduates as percentage of Staff
in all Secondary Schools, by classification

		Corporate Area				Extra-Metropolitan				
		Boys	Girls	Co-Ed	All Schools	Boys	Girls	Co-Ed	All Schools	Island Schools
Pupils per Teacher	High	18.7	18.2	18.1	18.3	19.5	21.1	19.5	19.8	18.9
	Tech.	-	-	12.5	12.5	-	-	15.5	15.5	14.3
	Comp.	-	-	31.5	31.5	-	-	25.5	25.5	23.1
Graduates as % of Staff	High	70.0	63.1	75.0	68.5	70.0	57.0	53.0	55.4	62.7
	Tech.	-	-	60.9	60.9	-	-	39.5	39.5	47.8
	Comp.	-	-	17.5	17.5	-	-	18.8	18.8	18.1

Even allowing for the effect of rounded figures, an acceptable practice in a document of this generalised nature, further differentials could be discerned between day and boarding, and Government, Trust and Denominational schools.

TABLE NO. LVII

Pupils per teacher and Graduates as a percentage of Staff
in Boarding High Schools differentiated (a) by location,
(b) by single-sex or co-educational status and (c) as compared with all non-boarding High schools.

	Corporate Area					Extra-Metropolitan Parishes				
	Boys	Girls	Co-Ed	All Bdg.	All Non-Bdg.	Boys	Girls	Co-Ed	All Bdg.	All Non-Bdg.
Pupils per Teacher	18.5	15.2	17.7	16.0	19.3	19.4	23.5	19.8	20.7	19.2
Graduates as % of Staff	46.3	55.8	53.8	53.8	74.7	70.2	60.5	50.0	60.1	53.5

The apparent disjuncture between schools located in or near to the island capital and those in the outer parishes, especially as it affected schools under different sponsorship, is seen in Table No. LIX

TABLE NO. LIX

Pupils per teacher and graduates as percentage of Staff in High schools (a) by location and (b) by sponsorship.

	Corporate area			Extra Metropolitan Parishes		
	Trust	Gov't	Denom.	Trust	Gov't	Denom.
Pupils per teacher	17.4	-	18.5	21.8	19.5	17.9
Graduates as percentage of staff	80.9	-	65.8	52.4	58.7	56.7

Perspectives in Secondary provision

The preceding figures indicate that since self-government and Independence the scale of provision of secondary school places has moved on considerably, especially by comparison with growth rates in the preceding decades. The Annual Reports of the Education Department of the pre-war years made brief comment:

"From the seventeenth century onwards numerous benefactions were made for the purpose of establishing 'free' schools and several existing Secondary schools trace their origin back to those early days. Many of the legacies were, however, misappropriated or misapplied and it was not until the nineteenth century that determined efforts were made to rescue the remaining funds and to apply them to the purpose for which they were intended. These efforts culminated, in 1879, in the establishment of the Jamaica Schools Commission which now exercises a general supervision over the administration of Trust Funds."⁽¹⁾

also:

"The income of secondary schools is derived from (a) Trust funds, (b) Government grants, (c) Government grants in aid, (d) Fees and (e) other funds."⁽²⁾

The Kandel Committee reported⁽³⁾ that between 1930 and 1943 the increase in enrolment averaged only five per cent per annum. In 1943 Kandel reported on twenty-three High schools; two Government, ten Trust and eleven denominationally sponsored; with a school age range from nine to nineteen. They included two boarding schools and eleven with boarding facilities. Seven of the schools had between 37 and 99 pupils, eight between 100 and 200, five 200 - 300 and three schools had pupil rolls of between 301 and 344. Eight were Boys schools, ten Girls and the remaining five /were

(1) Annual Report of the Education Department, Kingston, 31/12/1936.
Pt. 1, Sec. 2, para 3.

(2) Ibid., Pt. II Sec. 6, para 4, Secondary Education.

(3) Report of the Committee appointed to inquire into the system of Secondary education in Jamaica 3/11/1943 (Referred to here after as the Kandel Report) para 67.

were co-educational. The committee also recorded a total of forty private schools. The Easter Committee⁽¹⁾ whose terms of reference were to consider the Kandel Report recommendations and to indicate precise measures necessary added that the post-war Secondary school population was 4,026 in aided academic High schools (0.4 per cent of the age group) and 8,799 (0.8 per cent) in practical or technical training. The over-all number of secondary places, including Senior departments in all-age schools and in the small numbers of Central and Senior schools, totalled 34,478 (3.2 per cent the Primary Education Department reporting that ninety per cent of children in the public elementary schools were leaving before the end of Grade Six.

Within the first J.L.P. Administration in Independence Ministry paper no. 73⁽²⁾ recorded existing (1965) places in High and 'Secondary general' schools with averaged totals of 24,000 and a further 3,000 technical and vocational places an estimated⁽³⁾ 11.7 per cent of 12 - 15 and 7.6 per cent of 15 - 19 age ranges. Projections to 1970 indicated targets of 12,785 extra places in High and 'secondary general' and 7,215 additional places for pupils following technical or vocational courses. The age ranges involved were classified under 'First cycle', 12 - 15 and 'Second cycle', 15 to 16 - 19.

Access to the Secondary sector

Both Kandel and Easter reports made broad recommendations to the effect that entry should be at 'about the age of 12', that a 'common entrance' was the 'most satisfactory examination to determine suitability for admission' and also that the proportion of secondary school places awarded on ability 'should be progressively increased'. However, in the same section the Easter report⁽⁴⁾ mirrored the academic ethos with the statement:

"Advances in secondary education should be confined to such schools as are adequately equipped and staffed."

- (1) "Report of the Secondary Education Continuation Committee" 19/1/1946
(Referred to hereafter as the Easter Report) Part III para 42(b)
- (2) Op.cit., Pt. I, Table II, p. 3.
- (3) Ibid., Programme analysis para 2, p 4/5.
- (4) Op.cit., para 70, iii.

and an even more elitist point of view⁽¹⁾

"a survey of vocational opportunity available is needed in order to avoid the danger of middle class unemployment which is often a consequence of limited choice of careers."

A moderating influence was suggested by the Kandel report⁽²⁾

"It is obvious that the complaints regarding the poor preparation of pupils who enter Secondary from elementary schools cannot be ignored. The situation should, however, not be met by making such transfers more difficult. It points rather to the importance of establishing a closer integration between elementary and secondary education and to the necessity of examining what is meant by the statement that pupils are unfit for secondary education."

This, together with the fact that Grant and Scholarship places in 1941 - 1942, made up only 23 per cent of all places did not, it would seem, augur well for aspiring entrants from Elementary schools.

Secondary Curriculum

The content of Secondary education was highly relevant to the issue of who was fit or unfit. Kandel⁽³⁾ commented that, by the then current Secondary Education Law of May 19th 1914, curriculum was:

"not (chiefly) elementary instruction in reading, writing and arithmetic, but includes instruction in Latin, the English language and literature, modern languages, mathematics, natural and applied science, commercial arithmetic, the principles of agriculture, commercial geography, book-keeping, shorthand, drawing."

and

"Grants in Aid of Secondary schools (Amendment) Law 1941 currently defines Latin, the English language, history, literature, modern languages, mathematics, arithmetic, chemistry, physics, biology, geography, hygiene or other sciences, the principles of agriculture, book-keeping, shorthand, art, music, domestic science."

The implementation of this broad curricular area will be dealt with in a later examination of the way in which schools were ordered while the practical outcomes of such study formed part of the Reports' next findings.

(1) Ibid., also Kandel, para 21.

(2) Op.cit., para 60.

(3) Ibid., para 74/5.

Examinations were, in 1914, the Junior Oxford and Cambridge Local and in 1942, the Cambridge School Certificate and Higher School Certificate. (Kandel Report)

"Nowhere is there to be found any definition of the aims and objectives of education except in terms of certain subjects to be studied in order to pass certain examinations parents and public have no other notion of secondary education than in terms of certificates."(1)

Both Reports stressed that:

"Curriculum of all schools should be adapted to the cultural and economic needs of Jamaica irrespective of the needs of external examinations, that curriculum should be modernised, with emphasis on living interests and due regard to the requirements of girls as well as boys the whole problem of examinations should be studied to remove the most serious obstacle to good education and sound instruction."(2)

'Common Core' (Cf. Norwood Report) recommendations included: English language and literature, elementary mathematics, religious education, science - with special reference to the environment, social studies (History, Geography including studies of West Indian Social and political development and of the West Indian environment), physical education, art, music, handiwork, practical activities (gardening, handicrafts, homecrafts). Further, the success of language teaching methods in the Armed Forces of both Britain and the United States was taken to be justification for less text book instruction and more creative activities and development of living interests.

Despite these recommendations, designed to adapt the schools to the needs of a developing economy and away from the elitist principle of the English Grammar or Public school, upon which they were almost invariably modelled, subsequent examination of the curriculum shows that they are as enduring as many of their prototypes in maintaining traditional subject areas and choice.

In fairness it should be pointed out that this criticism applies mainly to the Secondary High schools and that in the Technical High school sector, a more functional and scientific ethos has been developed through positive links with the diversifying economy of the island.

(1) Ibid., para 76/7.

(2) Ibid.: Kandel Report para 14; Easter Report para 85.

With the propensity for self analysis and, particularly scrutiny of standards within the Caribbean area and elsewhere, Maikan⁽¹⁾ examined success ratios in given subjects at G.C.E. 'O' Level and compared them with English standards for the years 1966 - 1968. The subjects formed a very selective list of English, History, Mathematics and the Physical sciences. Table LX GCE 'O' level results: Trinidad, Jamaica, Caribbean, compared with English standards 1966-68.

Jamaica, Caribbean, compared with English Standards 1966 (Maikan)					
	Trinidad	Jamaica	Rest of the Caribbean	England	
				Summer	Autumn
1966					
English Language	34.7	41.6	35.3	58.1	60.4
Literature	32.2	42.3	32.5	61.8	51.3
History	21.5	50.6	43.3	63.6	51.8
Mathematics A	41.1	42.1	42.2	60.0	52.1
Mathematics B	42.1	29.6	8.7	56.4	53.2
Chemistry N	58.8	46.7	-	58.4	53.2
Chemistry T	67.4	55.6	56.2	64.1	60.6
Biology	43.3	45.6	47.3	58.1	46.6
1967					
English Language	34.4	44.3	36.2	58.9	61.2
Literature	29.5	43.5	34.4	66.0	51.5
History	45.0	56.3	42.6	58.3	53.4
Mathematics A	37.0	41.8	42.6	63.4	50.7
Mathematics B	37.1	36.9	9.1	58.3	54.1
Chemistry N	49.5	37.2	-	50.5	55.2
Chemistry T	60.2	68.2	39.2	70.5	50.5
Biology	33.5	45.5	33.9	58.6	48.8
1968					
English Language	32.8	44.2	31.6	61.6	52.1
Literature	33.9	47.6	44.7	68.0	46.2
History	40.7	50.9	37.1	60.1	48.6
Mathematics A	35.2	42.0	43.2	61.2	46.6
Mathematics B	28.5	33.5	42.1	60.2	54.0
Chemistry N	47.7	55.1	55.4	52.5	52.5
Chemistry T	50.9	54.0	48.3	64.1	49.1
Biology	37.4	47.1	42.6	62.3	49.0

Commenting on the figures, Maikan observed that Trinidad was doing four times better than Jamaica in the number of students it was putting forward for the examinations and, though suffering a ten per cent loss in quality of passes, gained fifty per cent in quantity. Manpower surveys to which he alluded recognised a need for twenty two per cent of the 12 - 18 year age groups to be in High schools whereas in fact the proportion of the age cohort in these schools was twelve - thirteen per cent.

(1) Maikan J.A., "The education paradox" The Sunday Gleaner. 27/9/1970.

However, some growth in the candidature for these examinations was apparent, though whether its rate or the inclining degree of success was commensurate with population increase was open to conjecture. Table LXI shows progress. Over a period of six years, after recourse to the 1968 - 69 Performance Report and to 1970 figures made available by the Ministry Planning Unit; the rate of increase was modest. The data was restricted in subject areas by the earlier Report.⁽¹⁾

(1) Performance Report. 1968-1969.

Op.cit. Section XIII. Examinations.

TABLE NO. LXI

TABLE SHOWING 'O' LEVEL RESULTS IN SELECTED SUBJECTS 1965 - 1970

(GRANT AIDED SCHOOLS ONLY)*

	1965			1966			1967			1968			1969			1970	
	No. of cand.	No. of passes	%	No. of cand.	No. of passes	%	No. of cand.	No. of passes	%	No. of cand.	No. of passes	%	No. of cand.	No. of passes	%	No. of cand.	No. of passes
English Language	3,359	1,356	40.4	3,197	1,461	45.7	3,415	1,664	48.7	3,544	1,714	48.4	3,694	2,062	55.8	3,696	2,200
Mathematics	1,527	629	41.2	1,611	309	19.2	1,852	820	44.3	2,346	1,024	43.6	2,339	992	42.4	2,277	904
Additional Maths.	226	103	45.6	302	135	44.7	340	217	63.8	423	251	59.3	432	222	51.4	387	181
Chemistry	834	386	46.3	927	455	49.2	950	464	48.8	1,083	601	55.5	1,100	550	50.0	1,174	605
Physics	429	152	35.4	472	145	30.7	506	265	52.4	662	308	46.5	543	197	36.3	693	316
Biology	1,906	691	36.3	1,826	872	47.5	2,080	953	45.8	2,231	1,122	50.3	2,294	1,168	50.9	2,376	815
TOTALS	8,281	3,317	40.5	8,335	3,377	40.5	9,143	4,383	47.9	10,289	5,020	48.8	10,402	5,191	49.9	10,603	5,021

Source: 1965 - 1969 "Performance Report 1968/69". Ministry of Education, Kingston.
 1970 "Performance Report 1970/71".

Figueroa, ⁽¹⁾ regretfully one assumes, echoed the earlier conclusions of the Kandel and Easter Reports;

"education is much prized in the West Indies, but the implications of what education might mean tend, at least in practice, to be quite unexplored. End products dominate over processes - and end products of a fairly limited kind: certificates, professions, white collar jobs, the status of having been educated."

He went on to offer examination results, within the Caribbean area, across a somewhat wider range of subjects but still in terms of "traditional curriculum". Only West Indian History and Spanish as a second language denoted attention to the nature of the area, with Bible knowledge acknowledging its spiritual needs. ⁽²⁾

Table LXII
GENERAL CERTIFICATE OF EDUCATION 'O' LEVEL RESULTS

CARIBBEAN AREA 1969 (Figueroa)

Subject	Trinidad		Jamaica		Other Caribbean centres		Total		
	Candi-dates	% pass	Candi-dates	% pass	Candi-dates	% pass	Candi-dates	% pass	1968 % pass
English language	9,797	36.8	4,684	51.9	4,658	39.8	19,139	41.2	35.6
English literature	5,828	35.7	2,837	47.6	2,625	42.7	11,290	40.3	39.1
Bible knowledge	3,492	36.9	1,958	44.6	1,821	37.0	7,271	39.0	36.9
West Indian history	4,124	38.2	2,676	58.0	2,332	43.3	9,132	45.3	43.5
Latin	470	50.2	207	46.9	352	52.3	1,029	50.2	45.6
French	2,027	36.6	310	43.5	1,025	41.8	3,362	38.8	30.1
Spanish	4,344	28.9	1,426	32.9	865	38.3	6,635	31.0	27.4
Mathematics syllabus A	5,609	32.7	2,149	39.9	1,542	34.8	9,300	34.7	38.1
Mathematics syllabus B	153	29.4	824	37.5	493	39.8	1,470	37.4	32.9
Mathematics syllabus C	77	2.6	1	1/1	7	1/7	85	4.7	2/38
Additional mathematics	736	56.1	480	54.0	314	39.8	1,530	53.1	58.9
Physics syllabus N	717	42.5	441	29.3	300	22.0	1,458	34.3	46.3
Physics syllabus T	131	45.0	277	41.9	149	26.2	557	38.4	26/65
Chemistry syllabus N	1,294	54.6	632	43.7	482	48.3	2,408	50.5	50.6
Chemistry syllabus T	305	66.9	659	52.7	280	46.8	1,244	54.8	52.4
Biology	2,135	36.6	2,756	48.9	1,475	40.3	6,366	42.8	42.9

(1) Figueroa, J. J., "Society, schools and Progress in the West Indies" Pergamon 1971, p 107.

(2) Ibid., pp 110, 112.

Table LXIII.

GENERAL CERTIFICATE OF EDUCATION 'O' LEVEL RESULTSCARIBBEAN AREA 1969 (Figueroa)

Subject	Trinidad			Jamaica			Other Caribbean centres		
	Candi-dates	Passes	% pass	Candi-dates	Passes	% pass	Candi-dates	Passes	% pass
English language	9,797	3,605	36.8	4,684	2,431	51.9	4,658	1,854	39.8
English literature	5,828	2,082	35.7	2,837	1,351	47.6	2,625	1,121	42.7
French	2,027	742	36.6	310	135	43.5	1,025	428	41.8
Spanish	4,344	1,255	28.9	1,426	469	32.9	865	331	38.3
Mathematics syllabus A	5,609	1,834	32.7	2,149	857	39.9	1,542	537	34.8
Mathematics syllabus B	153	45	29.4	824	309	37.5	493	195	39.8
Mathematics syllabus C	77	2	2.6	1	1	1/1	7	1	1/7
Mathematics - Total	5,839	1,881	32.2	2,974	1,167	39.2	2,042	733	35.9
Additional mathematics	736	413	56.1	480	259	54.0	314	125	39.8
Physics old syllabus N	717	305	42.5	441	129	29.3	300	66	22.0
Physics new syllabus T	131	59	45.0	277	116	41.9	149	39	26.2
Physics - Total	848	364	42.9	718	245	34.1	449	105	23.4
Chemistry old syllabus N	1,294	706	54.6	632	276	43.7	482	233	48.3
Chemistry new syllabus T	305	204	66.9	659	347	52.7	280	131	46.8
Chemistry - Total	1,599	910	56.9	1,291	623	48.2	762	364	47.8

Curriculum choice

As mentioned previously, there has been a certain degree of limitation upon subject areas offered for scrutiny or comparison. Since the earlier prescriptions suggested by the Kandel and Easter Reports, only a range of 'academically respectable' options has been publicised, due no doubt to regional influences.

Access to the full range of subjects both at 'O' and 'A' level in the 1970 examinations attempted by all Grant Aided High Schools⁽¹⁾ gave insight into the problem of relating school performance to social and economic need.

(1) "Performance Report 1970 - 71" Ministry of Education, Jamaica.

TABLE LXIV

TABLE SHOWING C.C.E. 'O' LEVEL RESULTS, 1970
IN ALL GRANT AIDED HIGH SCHOOLS (1)

Schools offering Candidates	Subject	Candi- dates	Passes	% Pass	Distinction
40	English Language	3,696	2,200	59.5	333
40	English Literature	2,462	1,367	55.5	88
40	Mathematics	2,277	904	39.7	49
40	History	2,288	1,248	56.0	34
40	Biology	2,376	815	34.3	29
39	Chemistry	1,174	605	51.5	33
39	Geography	1,554	778	50.1	44
39	Spanish	1,272	420	33.0	5
36	Bible Knowledge	1,448	701	48.4	34
32	Art	471	264	56.5	20
30	Physics	693	316	47.0	16
28	Health Science	817	374	45.8	17
25	Additional Mathematics	387	181	46.8	13
23	Latin	186	103	55.4	7
21	Cookery	374	116	31.0	3
18	French	256	104	41.0	13
14	Needlework & Dressmaking	104	17	16.3	-
7	Woodwork	61	18	29.5	1
7	Commerce	147	62	42.2	0
6	German	29	14	48.5	-
3	Agricultural Science	54	22	40.7	-
3	General Science	38	5	13.2	-
3	Physical Science	33	18	54.5	-
2	Music	2	-	0	-
1	General Housecraft	11	10	90.9	-
1	Principles of Accounts	19	4	21.1	-
1	Mechanical Drawing	4	-	0	-
	Totals	20,893	10,148	48.5	792

(1) Devised from "Performance Report 1970/71" Ministry of Education, Jamaica.
Table 17. Un-numbered section.

TABLE LXV

TABLE SHOWING G.C.E. 'A' LEVEL RESULTS 1970
IN ALL GOVT AIDED HIGH SCHOOLS (1)

Schools offering Candidates	Subject	Candidates	Passes	% Pass
33	General Paper	728	473	65.0
32	History	216	83	38.4
30	English Literature	196	123	62.8
28	Zoology	265	118	44.5
28	Chemistry	318	128	40.3
27	Spanish	91	31	34.1
26	Botany	162	35	21.6
26	Geography	161	52	32.3
25	Mathematics	198	123	62.1
21	Physics	197	67	34.0
19	Economics	189	103	54.5
14	French	41	24	58.5
12	Art	32	27	84.3
11	Pure Mathematics	52	16	30.7
11	Applied Mathematics	47	7	14.8
11	Health Science	5	1	20.0
7	Latin	12	6	50.0
3	Geology	7	3	42.8
2	German	2	1	50.0
2	Biology	12	5	41.7
	Totals	2,931	1,426	48.7

For 'O' level quite plainly, socially acceptable and traditionally oriented subject options still ruled the day. With the exception of Latin, which as a subject choice was in sharp decline, familiar groupings were apparent, while those curriculum areas which promote practical aptitude, personal need or vocational interest were significantly low in numerical ranking both on the basis of schools promoting their development and on the level of students entering the examinations. It was not possible to differentiate between types of school at this stage, nor to pursue more than a cursory analysis of option variables within the information tabulated. For example, in the majority of schools, i.e., twenty three or more, the bulk of candidates (94.5%) pursued subjects which are commonly recognised as formal, the only possible exceptions to this typology being Art and Health Science

(1) Devised from "Performance Report 1970/71" Ministry of Education, Jamaica.
Table 19, Un-numbered section.

and these subjects in any case both ranked in the lowest quartile on the basis of students entering and quality of passes as indicated by number of distinctions gained. The remaining subjects, thirteen in number, and offered by many fewer schools, mustered a minority (5.5%) of adherents and, significantly it seems guaranteed less success: thirty five per cent pass rate as opposed to better than forty nine per cent for the formal subjects, and only three per cent of all distinctions gained.

Data on proportions of graduate staff presented earlier may well account for these differentials. Additional evidence was offered by the 1968 - 69 Performance Report.⁽¹⁾ A recruitment mission, set up in 1958 had maintained the practice of encouraging expatriate teachers to teach at Jamaican Secondary schools. The services so secured for September 1970 would seem to conform to the pattern suggested above.

"The team succeeded in (gaining) teachers for the following subject areas:

Mathematics	17	Spanish	12
Biology	6	History	8
Geography	8	Home Economics	3
English	15	Industrial Arts	5
Latin	1	Physics	6
General	8	General Science	3
P.E.	8	Commerce	1
Chemistry	8	French	2
Zoology	1	Art	6
Economics	3	Music	2"

The 'A' level data appears to have formal and academic orientation and, clear associations with both graduate and expatriate staffing. Subsequent analysis at the level of individual schools offers further evidence on educational outcomes to which Figueroa has alluded.

Examination conditions in Selected Secondary high schools

Fewer secondary schools were seen but an attempt was made to see co-educational and single-sex, and metropolitan and provincial institutions. Much common data was

(1) Performance Report. 1968-1969.

Op.cit. Section XV.

available and the comments which follow are generalised from this series of visits to five schools. This small number could not be described as a sample by any stretch of the imagination, but even so, the nature of the information so gathered suggests its claim for credibility simply on the basis of its conformation to norms of school goals and curriculum choice which have already been tentatively suggested.

Staffing, subjects and examinations in selected High schools.

Expatriate graduate and non-graduate staff were present in each school and in most cases the subject specialisms of the former fell within the previously outlined range of tradition-based options. The Overseas Cambridge G.C.E. was the invariable validating board, only one school omitting to confirm this evidence. Staffing ratios were relatively even within the group of schools, the norm resting between 25 - 30 pupils per class though this varied with age and subject, and of course, between the ordinary and advanced levels of tuition. They did not vary inordinately, that is to say the conviction was expressed consistently and explicitly that academic work could not be carried out with large groups. Classes of thirty five were the largest seen and these on the simple basis of halving a year group of seventy pupils - this in a western, mainly boarding single sex school. Twenty five or thirty "maximum" were the laid down pupil rolls in two other provincial co-educational schools and only in the fourth were classes as large as thirty eight or forty one recorded (seven out of twenty five forms). The metropolitan single-sex, mainly day school had "registration groups of 27/28" but teaching groups which were in subject sets.

Examinations and "success" in selected schools.

Examination oriented school goals were apparent in each case. Here, precise information was to hand in only three of the five schools where were seen varying degrees of application and efficiency in achieving these goals. In each case the retention rate was high; if passing at least G.C.E. ordinary level was the main object of the education exercise then no evidence existed to suggest that pupils left before it took place. Two of the three schools recorded fourth year candidates and all

showed a fifth year entry for the examination which approximated to the year total. Some 'O' level candidates sat, or re-sat, the examination in the Sixth form in all schools and the rest of the senior year groups were involved mainly in advanced level work.

Recruitment to sixth form work varied from fifty per cent of the fifth year (full year group) in the metropolitan girls' school to forty per cent in the provincial, mainly boarding boys' school and to fifteen per cent in a provincial co-educational school.

Only two of the schools were able to offer detailed analysis of subject entries and these are collated to form Table LXVI, though this conveys only curriculum choice. No data was commonly available for the purpose of exploring completely, variables between size of year group, entries per subject or rates of success in the ranges of subject entry. The nearest evidence, from three schools, to support this qualitative analysis is presented in Table LXVII. Since only one school proffered data disclosing efficiency rate in terms both of global entries and passes by subject and of the number of subject entries per pupil, with passes and failures it seemed invidious to submit such individualised material as evidence indicative of standards in general.

Conditions in Secondary High Schools

It was possible, using the research tool applied in the examination of schools in other sectors, to appraise working conditions. One generalised reaction is that this evidence disclosed 'Grammar' type education with facilities and teaching resources which compared favourably with either English or North American institutions.

All that has been inferred about elitism was borne out by the disparity in standards between these schools and almost all schools seen in other sectors.

School buildings

Teachers, like farmers, are prone to dissatisfaction but in relative terms there was little to grumble at. In addition to the high capitation allowance mentioned earlier from the work of Gascoigne, sources at the Ministry, community support or overseas contributions had ensured standards which were adequate, if not at times lavish. All five schools had benefitted from the funds disbursed through

TABLE LXVI

Overseas Cambridge 'O' Level subject passes
in two Government aided High schools

Subjects	Passes	
	School A	School B
English language	46	33
English literature	8	10
Bible knowledge	18	7
History	41	48
Geography	15	15
Latin	-	1
French	1	1
Spanish	2	4
Mathematics	35	6
Additional mathematics	5	-
Physics	16	2
Chemistry	41	3
Biology	48	26
Art	13	1
Cookery	-	3
Commerce	-	27
Principles of accounts	-	-
Health science	-	10
Totals	289	197

- NB. 1. School A - year group of 75. Trust sponsored boys' school.
 2. School B - year group of 146. Trust sponsored co-educational school.

TABLE LXVII

Overseas Cambridge 'O' Level success
by number of subject passes per student
in three Government aided High schools

No. of students passed	School A	School B	School C
Eight subjects	3	-	2
Seven subjects	6	-	2
Six subjects	7	1	5
Five subjects	11	4	20
Four subjects	14	6	22
Three subjects	11	14	28
Two subjects	14	28	45
One subject	9	49	22
Totals	289	197	444
Year Group	75	146	153

NB. School C - Metropolitan Denominational Girls' day school.

Sources: Devised from School Prize-giving Reports.

World Bank loan. All had purpose built classrooms, rooms for staff and clerical and administrative use and all had Kitchen and Dining space, designated storage facilities, adequate toilet provision and medical accommodation, albeit in this respect that one school utilized the resources of an adjacent hospital and another designated one of its teachers' cottages for this purpose. Two of the schools, both with boarding facilities had hospitals, one having in addition an isolation ward. All schools seen had the services of a qualified nurse. All had school yards, space for assemblage and all had sports fields with marked pitches for a variety of games and either 440 or 220 yard track space. Each school had a purpose built library, well stocked, though in one case this room doubled for use with music. In all schools the library boasted a reference and a periodical section.

Subject provision

Subject rooms were commonplace with pupils moving to specialist teacher all through the timetable. Three of the schools seen had language laboratories with booth space in two of them for full classes and in the other a resource centre, individually designed, built and equipped for a variety of reading, aptitude and language skills. The smallest number of laboratories seen was three (Physics, Chemistry, Biology), the highest six, including a General Science laboratory. All had preparation rooms and four schools, at the time of visiting, had laboratory assistants. The laboratories appeared well equipped with demonstration and student benches, fitted for bunsens, electrical experimentation and plumbed. Racks, cupboards and displays of laboratory equipment were evident for all branches of scientific inquiry at the appropriate levels.

Music rooms were in use generally, with adequate provision of instruments, and the resources for all formal subjects were as one would expect in schools of this type.

Significantly, the resources for more practical subject areas were less well endowed. Two schools, quite simply, had no craft or workshop subjects on the timetable. The girls, urban high school had facilities for Home economics, business studies and office practice. A boys, rural mainly boarding school had both food and metal workshops and agricultural science space with, in addition, a model farm. A fifth school, which does not permit of comparison because it is Knox College, had

both stimulating and effective means of exploring student potential in the practical vein - and these areas were a pre-requisite for all pupils.

Art room space was universally available and the level of creative and imaginative, as well as more formal work, in the usual wide range of media was well in evidence, in all cases being utilised, by display, to the general benefit of the school community.

Summary of field study findings.

In summary, the general state of working conditions and facilities was high. The research tool permitted examination of seventeen variables in this area. Two schools scored on fourteen, one on fifteen and the remaining two on all seventeen. As mentioned in the earlier chapter on Primary education, a qualitative analysis of school resources would be best offered by those using them and the present exercise offers a more quantitative view of teaching conditions, aids and equipment. In these terms both staff and pupils in the 'Academic' High schools enjoyed material standards conducive to the competitive ethos of such establishments wherever they may be found. Further analysis of the levels of achievement may well prove to be fruitful if it could be used to demonstrate the efficacy of these schools in producing qualified candidates for higher education, the professions or for the society.

'Excelsior' and 'Knox'.

Though it may seem invidious to make comparisons from a small sample, the unvarying nature of the emphasis on academic curriculum and competitive goals seemed to be broken in only two schools seen on the field study inquiry.

These were the Excelsior school and Knox College, the former an urban school sited on ground adjacent to the National Stadium and under the shadow of Long Mountain. The immediate environment was that of the eastern suburbs of Kingston with a population including mainly traditional and 'emerging' Middle classes, though members of other groups were in evidence - these being as diverse as the occupants of shanty-style dwellings, or the inhabitants of the luxurious houses and apartments in the distinctly upper-class Beverly Hills development. Knox College had been

deliberately sited in the central region of the island as 'an act of faith that it was feasible to convert a derelict hillside, frequented mainly by goats, into a modern institution for learning.'

Knox College

Without doubt, the best way to express the ethos of Knox College is in the words of its founder, Dr. Lewis Davidson:

"Our particular problem has been that so many of our educated people have regarded themselves as princes - playboys of the Western World, whose incompetence is often matched only by their inanity.

..... So at Knox, while aiming to provide the finest possible academic education for the rather small number of young people (perhaps a maximum of 10%) with exceptional academic ability and temperament, I did not particularly want to make life easy for them We require our students to contribute their service in areas of prime importance.

We hope that the typical Knox student will not only have developed his intellect keenly, but will also be prepared to tackle practically anything that needs to be done simply because it needs to be done.

That is why we have developed Knox Educational Services, a large stationery manufacturing plant to employ some forty or so people of the community.

That is why we have a farm - to demonstrate what can be done with a small acreage.

That is why we have a food processing plant with a capacity to provide all the neighbourhood schools with nourishing low-cost meals.

That is why we have a construction centre to build the facilities that Knox needs - buildings and furniture, at about half the going rate, and to provide work for as many as thirty neighbourhood men.

That is why our Work Campers built the Neighbourhood School on Spaldings Hill and renovated the Basic School in Spaldings.

That is why we are thinking all the time about how the entire neighbourhood can be developed educationally, socially and materially.

I hope that schools will become community-changing agencies instead of community reflecting institutions. That at any rate is what we are committed to do, and what we have been trying to do over the past few years."(1)

Each pupil at Knox is required to devote part of his working week to one or other of the practical activities noted above. Failure to settle on one of the contributory programmes (designed to promote a consciousness of community service) results in the removal of the pupil from the school. One cannot resist the repetition of a further comment from Davidson:

"In the main, parents and the young people themselves have backed us with enthusiasm. Oddly enough, one of the few refusals came from a Trade Union leader who told us that he would not be sending his son to Knox to work at 'menial jobs!'"(1)

Excelsior Education Centre

The Excelsior High school has embodied the same principles of commitment to community needs throughout its existence, under Mr. A. W. Powell's headmaster ship. Situated in lower St. Andrew, close to the National Stadium, it has become the largest co-educational school in the Corporate area. The curriculum areas have always tended to reflect the economic and technological requirements of the society. This was seen, at the time of the field study, in the emerging plan to enlarge the scope of Excelsior as an adjunct to the aspirations of Jamaican adolescents. As noted in the preceding chapter, the proposed new Excelsior Education Centre is designed to cater for education at all age levels: Pre-primary, Primary, Junior Secondary, Senior Secondary and Community College, the last being for post 'O' level and pre-professional studies.

Within the overall plan the objectives of the Industrial Training Plant appear to accord significantly with the manpower needs of the island economy. As outlined in the EXED Statement⁽²⁾ they convey the sense of commitment of Powell and the school board:

"The Industrial Training Plant

Will train craftsmen artisans and corresponding middle management in 'an up-to-date' industrial atmosphere

1. EXED will incorporate "The Excelsior Training Plant" as the sixth member of its organisation.

(1) Ibid.

(2) Excelsior Education Centre (EXED). Op. cit. p 8.

- "2. The Plant as such will be integrated ideologically and physically with the Junior Secondary (candidates for artisans) and Industrial Arts Schools (candidates for artisans and corresponding middle management)).
3. The Plant will consist of the following shops:
 - (i) Building construction
 - (ii) Woodwork
 - (iii) Garment trade
 - (iv) Electrical Service and Repair.
4. The Plant will be a self-sustaining enterprise - producing 'live work', or producing trained personnel. It is expected that this plant will receive its major support through the Jamaica Manufacturers' Association (in this respect, the Plant will be considered as an auxiliary source to their - J.M.A. - members), also, work obtained from private customers.
5. The Plant, its space and equipment will have the facilities for heavy duty operation similar to those which are used in local industries. The initial expense, including operational capital, material stock is expected to be covered by a fund raising campaign patronised by J.M.A., Jamaica Chamber of Commerce, Jamaica Industrial Corporation, etc.
6. The Plant as a business will be administered by a Manager and Shop Supervisor; the work will be executed by hired well-trained artisans, and foremen, leading labour groups of students from Industrial Arts School and trained graduates from the Junior Secondary School and others.

All staff, students and trainees shall be compensated according to their position, work and degree of skill.

The graduates of the Senior Secondary Technical (Industrial Arts School) may become counterparts to the shop foremen.
7. The students could be "employed" for 1 or 2 years only, the last year as post-graduate. This pre-career employment should last for not more than three years."

Financial proceeds for the six institutions, and the buildings and facilities are to be obtained in different ways. The pre-primary school will be funded in part of its capital expenditure by the Methodist Church. The adjacent Mountain View primary school is to be included in the scheme, with the approval

of the Ministry of Education. Ten acres of the additional twenty acres, designated for the project, have already been donated by the Government of Jamaica (estimated value \$J 343,000) and by January 1971, further donations of over \$J 14,500 had been received, two thousand dollars of this from Excelsior alumni in the United States. The existing school buildings are to be utilised for the intended Junior Secondary school, and the Senior Secondary schools are to be funded from the second phase of the World Bank Loan. The Community College and the training plant will have to be funded by grants and/or fund - raising activities of EXED.

TECHNICAL EDUCATION.

The terms 'secondary' and 'academic' have been regarded as being synonymous in high school education in the island over such a period that the development of places for technical education has been retarded, despite recommendations in the Kandel Report which initially⁽¹⁾ proposed measures which would promote agricultural self - sufficiency and subsequently⁽²⁾ elaborated upon the growing needs of industry, commerce and manufacture. At the time of the report "vocational" as opposed to "academic" secondary education was provided in Kingston Technical school, the Jamaica School of Agriculture and four 'practical' training centres. Yet the general attitude in the island was exemplified :

(1) Kandel Report. Op.cit. para 124, 125, also p 23, para 10/11.

(2) Ibid. Para 137, also p 23, para 21.

"The Jamaica public and parents have become imbued, even more strongly than those in most other countries, with the idea that the only type of education that is socially respectable and promising for economic success is the traditional or academic type of secondary education. Education for status appears to be even more rooted in Jamaica than elsewhere and with a stronger emphasis on status than on education"⁽¹⁾

Kingston Technical High school alone predated the post-war Reports.

established in 1896 and developed from a model Senior School into a Trade and continuation school its present designation came about in 1960. Immediately prior to Independence the other five institutions which with Kingston comprise the technical sector were formed, Holmwood and Dintill being translated from Practical Training Centres and Vere, St. Andrew and St. Elizabeth being newly opened (the last two in 1961). Only Kingston Technical High school was fully operational in 1962, the year of Independence, the others being developed subsequently.

Previously, although technical and vocational subjects were taught, there was pronounced academic bias but since 1962 the emphasis has changed and a consistent effort has been maintained to educate the public to esteem practical and technical subjects. This change of attitude has been helped by the fact that school leavers with good technical skills have tended to receive better remuneration in the expanding industries of bauxite, building and engineering. This has been reflected in the curriculum of the Technical school sector. Transfer has taken place, by the same process of common entrance examination, as an earlier chapter has shown, and the schools operate a four year cycle split between two years of general education and further two years of more specialised study.

Curriculum in the Technical school sector

In all years English, Mathematics and Civics are compulsory. Boys receive instruction in technical or 'Industrial Arts' areas while girls generally follow one Economics or Commercial subjects. The specialised courses during the J.L.P. Administration were:

1) Ibid. para 63.

(a) Building

This course included Building Construction, Building Drawing, Building Science, Carpentry and Joinery, Technical Mathematics and Elementary Surveying.

(b) Commerce

This course included Commercial Mathematics, Elements of Commerce, Office Practice, Principles of Accounts, Shorthand and Typewriting.

(c) Home Economics

This course included Nutrition and Cookery, Dressmaking and Human Biology.

(d) Mechanical Engineering

This course included Engineering Drawing, Engineering Science, Physics, Technical Mathematics and Engineering Workshop Theory and Practice.

(e) Motor Vehicle Mechanics

This course was offered to regular day students at Vere Technical and Holmwood Technical High Schools. It included Engineering Science, Motor Vehicle Technology and Motor Vehicle Repair Work.

(f) Electronics

This course was offered at the Kingston Technical High School. It included Electrical Principles, Electrical Drawing, Electronic Systems, Radio and Television Servicing and Electrical Appliance Servicing.

(g) Agriculture

This course was offered at the four Technical High Schools in the rural areas - Dinthill, Holmwood, St. Elizabeth and Vere. It included Biology, Chemistry, Agricultural Science, Book-keeping and Elementary Surveying.

(h) Alternative Craft Courses

Students at Vere Technical High School also had the opportunity to specialise in their Third and Fourth Years in either Welding, Electrical Installation or Machine Shop Work.

There were also specialised subsidiary courses offered at some of these schools. Holmwood offered a special Junior Secretarial Course; Vere offered courses in Process Instrumentation and Chemical Plant Operation; and Kingston Technical offered a General Course in Engineering."

Examinations in the Technical High Schools

Although attempts to educate the public were claimed, official sources were reticent about progress reports from this sector. The practical outcomes of technical education were measured in part by examination success. The boards chosen seemed more relevant: the G.C.E. of the Associated Examining Board, the Union of Lancashire and Cheshire Institutes for Technical and Trade Courses, the Royal Society of Arts examinations in commercial subjects and the City and Guilds of London Institute examinations were commonly used in the three schools seen, one using in addition the University of London G.C.E. Board. All applied the Jamaica School Certificate but in the second year - at Grade Nine. Again a commonplace was the retention of pupils to form a fifth year, in two of the schools it was reported that pupils there re-sat 'O' level subjects and sat 'A' level examinations, though it was admitted that the latter were exceptions to the general rule.

Field study of Technical High schools

Data gathered from the field study enabled examination of curriculum and external Boards as well as school facilities and staffing.

Course areas, designated by the school headmasters or deputy heads who furnished the information, conformed closely to the subjects identified, as did the planning and administration of the pupils' timetables into general and specialised options.

The Metropolitan St. Andrew and the two rural Technical High schools all included the following 'general subjects' curriculum: English, Mathematics, Civics, Physics, Chemistry, Biology, Spanish, History, Geography, Art and Cookery and dress-making. Each school offered four Specialised Course areas: Building, Engineering, Commerce and Home Economics, two having in addition a well equipped Motor Vehicle Mechanics course. The third school suffered from lack of qualified staff in this last respect. The subjects within these areas again conformed to the Ministry design for Technical curriculum.

The External examining boards already identified were utilised by all schools.

Technical school facilities

The schools, being in the main purpose built and generally refurbished by funds from the World Bank Loan, were well founded. All had assembly halls, utilised also as dining rooms, each having a kitchen for school meals with adequate storage space. Laboratories for physics, chemistry and biology, mainly well furnished and equipped though not always with preparation or store rooms were found in each case. All schools had executive, as well as administrative office space, staff rooms and medical rooms; one rural school with space for 120 boarders having a resident nurse. Each had a library (several television sets in the metropolitan school) and all had a number of storage rooms both for subject and sports equipment. Subject and specialist rooms were both catered for though in two schools music subjects used the Hall space. Each school had well equipped workshop areas for boys, and commercial or domestic science space for girls, including the 'model flat' layout. The additional space offered to St. Andrew Technical High school, by its amalgamation with the adjacent Trade Training Centre, resulted in an extensive area and range of workshop facilities. All three schools had evenly paved or graded assembly space outside or between buildings and all had playing field space in school grounds ranging from over ten to approximately five acres.

Staffing and pupil teacher ratio

TABLE NO. LXVIII

Staff, by qualification or status and over-all student roll in three Technical high schools, one Metropolitan and two Rural. (1973)

School	Staff						Pupil Roll	P/T Ratio
	Graduate	Qual. Teacher	Intern	P/T	Expatriate	Total		
t. Andrew	55	22	3	-	3	84	350	10.1
t. Elizabeth	13	21	4	5	-	43	765	17.8
olmwood	26	10	1	3	-	40	580	14.5

The relative stability and generally purposeful attitudes of the pupils seen may well have been engendered in part by the existence of school clubs and societies: Christian Union, Red Cross, Cadet Force, 4H in the rural schools, Drama and Spanish and Home-makers societies being recorded as on-going activities.

Recruitment to Technical high schools

Each school took its pupils from an area which comprised several parishes, St. Andrew catering, with Kingston Technical, for the eastern region, Holmwood for central region parishes and St. Elizabeth for the western end of the island as well as for some of the central. Recruitment, as has been made plain, was not all from the public school sector and, further, the age at which transfer was effected meant that those who came from Government schools were in the main from the Junior secondary sphere. It was reasonably apparent, though it was not possible to quantify this assertion, that the additional benefit conferred by a technical education of some quality was seen by members of the middle class as a desirable advantage.

FURTHER, VOCATIONAL AND HIGHER EDUCATION

The term 'further education' may be seen as misleading if interpreted generally as being of a higher standard than is customarily found in the school-age classroom. In common with many societies, further education in Jamaica has a "topping-up" function, i.e., the resitting of failed subjects or the addition of new subjects to a range of examination passes already attained. However it has, apparently, little enough of the recreational or creative aspects of post-school age educational endeavour which lend appeal elsewhere to the intending student. The terms 'further' and 'vocational' are more synonymous there, as may well be the case in most developing situations, wherein the process of equipping one's self for life is a serious business. Too many pupils have failed at the two major hurdles - the eleven-plus High school entry and the thirteen plus Technical school entry for there to be many illusions left about the slenderness of opportunity for the low, or non-achiever. Some, being among the cohorts of early leavers, have experienced the vulnerability of the illiterate or innumerate in the harsh employment situation and attend evening classes to repair these omissions. Others exemplify the general usage of the term 'further' and elevate their performance level from the Jamaica School Certificate to the more viable external examinations. It is difficult to quantify these levels of endeavour.

Evening Institutes and Evening Classes.

The opportunity for the adolescent or adult candidate was presented, in 1969, at forty Evening Institutes and in Evening classes at the Comprehensive and Technical schools and a growing number of Junior Secondary schools. Few of the academic High schools offered these facilities. Supervisors of the evening institutes were usually principals of the schools whose plant was utilised as the Centre and payment was made on the basis of enrolment. Data on curriculum and standards was sparse. The Ministry of Education acknowledged an island enrolment figure of four thousand students over the age of fifteen, in 1969-70.

Vocational Education

In addition to a Vocational Guidance Service, Vocational education was available at:

Carron Hall Vocational Centre for Girls (St. Mary)

Frankfield Comprehensive High School Evening class for Men (Clarendon),

Knockalva Agricultural Training Centre (Hanover),

Montego Bay Technical Institute (St. James),

Port Antonio Technical Institute (Portland), and

St. Andrew Trade Training Centre.

he 1969-70 approximate enrolment was: Day 770; Evening 625; Day release 115.

The J.L.P. "Performance Report" stated:

"The major concern of these institutions is the inculcation of certain skills, needed by young men and women in order to obtain employment in a number of important trades and occupations. In the Trade Training Centre and Technical Institutes, the courses are short, usually lasting for one year with strong emphasis on practical work.

Young men seeking admission must be over 15 years of age and under 18, must have completed at least the ninth grade and must pass an entrance examination."(1)

Details of curriculum, examinations and outcomes followed in the Report.(2)

Carron Hall Training Centre for Girls: Enrolment for 175 girls - two year

courses including:

cooking and nutrition: Crafts (including straw work, tatting, fabric printing and leatherwork)

household management: Dressmaking and embroidery, Mathematics, English, Civics and Health Sc.

Of the 72 graduates in 1969, 15 entered Teachers' Colleges, 10 went into Hospitals as trainee nurses, 20 employed as teachers in primary schools, 8 employed as teachers in Housecraft training Centres, 4 as assistant matrons in Agricultural training Centres, 15 as House-keepers, and clerks in offices.

Knockalva Agricultural Training Centre: 114 boys following two year courses, enrolled as follows:

vocational scholars	1st year	10	2nd year	13	Studying Agriculture/Animal Husbandry,
resident students		42		41	Agronomy, Farm carpentry/Farm Mechanics,
day students				8	Maths, English and Civics.

1) Op.cit. Section VII p 73

2) Ibid. Section VII p 74-76

Montego Bay Technical institute: One year courses in the following:

Auto Mechanics, Building construction, Commercial practice, Electrical installation, Machine shop and fitting.

Enrolment: Day 168, Evening 209, Day release 55, Total 432.

Port Antonio Technical institute: follows the similar pattern with the addition of related subjects - Maths, English, Science, Technology and Technical Drawing offered to an enrolment of 116 day and 30 evening class students.

St. Andrew Trade Training Centre: This is the largest and most developed of the existing vocational institutions. During the nine years of operation the Centre has seen much expansion.

The curriculum consists of Trade and Industrial Courses largely at the pre-apprenticeship level. By including English, Mathematics, Technical Drawing and Blue-Print reading and Technical Science, the Centre now aims at preparing foremen in addition to skilled craftsmen.

Day and Evening courses offered are: Auto Mechanics with Diesel and Automotive Electricity, Building Construction, Electrical Installation, Machine Shop and Fitting, Plumbing and Pipe Fitting, Steel Fabrication, Welding (Gas and Electric).

Present enrolment: Day 200, Day release 60, Evening classes 387, Total 647.

The staff comprises successful tradesmen who have spent several years in their respective trades and trained teachers with training in industrial subjects for related instruction. Apart from learning a skill students of the Centre are given the option of sitting the J.S.C. examination in appropriate subjects. Graduates, on leaving the Centre attend C.A.S.T. or sit the City and Guilds Examination.

The following is a list of results:

Union of Lancashire & Cheshire Institute: Electrical Installation

Stage I	entered	14	passed	8	% 57.14
Stage II	"	20	"	19	95
Stage III	"	5	"	4	80

City & Guilds Mech. Eng. Craft Practice

entered 9 passed 5 % 55.55

	Ent.	Pass	%		Ent.	Pass	%
English Language	240	75	31.25	Mathematics	240	60	25.00
Electrical Installation	40	25	62.50	Civics	180	72	40.00
Auto Mechanics	44	33	75.00	Metal-work	30	15	50.00
Wood-work	18	9	50.00	Plumbing	12	11	91.66
Technical Drawing	126	45	35.71	Typewriting	54	18	33.33
Technical Science	60	35	58.33	Shorthand	48	12	25.00

Frankfield Vocational Educational Classes:

For a period of nine months, classes were held at the Frankfield High School (Comprehensive) on Saturday of each week in Auto Mechanics, Electrical Installation, Plumbing, Millwright and Fitting and Welding.

These courses were necessitated by the desire to provide opportunities for the young men in Frankfield and surrounding areas to receive training in various trades thus enabling them to secure employment. One hundred and fifty (150) students were enrolled, but only fifty four (54) sat the final examination. The reasons for so high a number of drop outs were

- (a) distance of students' homes from the schools,
- (b) inability of some to cope with the level of the courses offered, and
- (c) shortage of qualified instructors.

The results of the Trades Test conducted by the Ministry of Labour and National Insurance are:

Trade	Entered	Results
Electrician	11	4 graded 'C' Helpers
Millwright	6	6 graded 'C' Helpers
Mechanic	11	4 graded 'B' Mechanics 7 graded 'C' Helpers
Plumber	2	2 graded 'B' Plumbers
Welder	24	6 graded 'B' Welders 18 graded 'C' Helpers

Benefits derived from the courses cannot be measured only in terms of Trades Test Results. Many of the unsuccessful students have gained valuable experiences. It is hoped that the 42 who were graded 'C' and recommended for further training will enrol in the new programme to be concluded by August 21. Starting in September 1970, new classes will be enrolled for training.

Other Vocational Training in Jamaica

Other Ministries also underwrite aspects of vocational training. Principal among these must stand the Youth Development Agency of the Ministry of Youth Community and Development, and their main agency for fostering desirable traits among Jamaican youth must be the Youth Corps (initially the Youth Camps). Local opinion coincided with this view:

"Certainly for the next few years there will be about 90 per cent of the 15-19 age group for the Ministry of Youth and Community Development to influence."⁽¹⁾

Discussing this issue in two articles White put forward the desirability of the youth camp environment over alternative proposals for more dispersed and even more transient youth centres. Youth Camps graduated campers after twelve to eighteen months of residential training, most importantly, in rural areas.

The Youth Corps, recruiting from unemployed youth in the 15-20 age range, was established in 1956, working in two camps graduating 1,000 boys every eighteen months. A third camp was set up in 1967⁽²⁾ and White (by 1973) acknowledged the development of two further sites. The objectives of the programme were to:

"offer employment to unemployed volunteers, an opportunity to live for a period in a camp where basic training and experience in agriculture and/or, other skills and techniques will be provided and, where living together with healthy discipline, guided recreation and helpful leisure activities, a chance will be given to develop good character and fitness for community service and responsibility."⁽³⁾

Five categories of training have been developed.

1. Agriculture - including fisheries, forestry, horticulture and animal husbandry.

(1) Noel White "The future of the Youth Camps." Sunday Gleaner 13th May 1973

(2) "Jamaica's Youth Programme for the 70's", in "Youth and Development in the Caribbean", Commonwealth Secretariat. August 1970, p 194.

(3) Campbell S. "The Jamaica Youth Corps" International Volunteer, Washington D.C., September 1965.

2. Mechanical crafts - general and auto-motive mechanics, fitting and welding.
3. Handicrafts - carpentry, shoe-making, leather crafts and tailoring.
4. Construction crafts - masonry, plumbing, electrical installation, painting and decorating.
5. Services - electrical repairs, driving, hotel personnel and barbering.

The Youth Corps is also active in community service, including surveying, building, re-afforestation and landscaping. Literacy classes are offered where necessary and leadership training forms an important part of the camp programmes as well as recreational activities which include choral groups, debates, drama and sports.

The one Girls Camp with an intake of 300 offers a twelve-month course which includes agriculture, home economics, handicraft, health and hygiene, child care, nutrition and family planning. Training is also available for nursing auxiliaries, office staff and hotel personnel.

The benefits accruing from this development have been apparent. Youths undergoing training in construction skills at the early camps contributed to the siting and erection of the Girls camp before moving on, or graduating. Up to seventy per cent of graduates have been able to secure employment after their period of training, though no extensive follow-up of leavers has been attempted.

White⁽¹⁾ suggested specialisation in camp programmes,

"Chestervale and Luidas Vale could concentrate on agriculture while Cobbla and Kemilworth could concentrate on industrial training. Cape Clear would of course concentrate on developing leaders in female activities,"

and goes on to urge more academic content so as to enhance the quality of the intending recruits to the island labour market.

Other agencies of the Ministry of Youth and Community Development projects for the '70's are⁽²⁾: (Commonwealth Secretariat)

(1) White.N. Op.cit.

(2) Commonwealth Secretariat.1970. Op.cit. p.194/5.

"Youth Development Agency

- (i) 3 Youth Camps - graduating 1,500 boys every 18 months.
- (ii) 400 Youth Clubs with 20,000 young people, and
- (iii) 9 Community Centres for the urban youth.

Sports Development Agency

- (i) Playfields - rural and urban areas
- (ii) Coaching clinics and coaches
- (iii) Supplying sporting equipment at cost price.

Social Development Agency

- (i) 100 Community Centres in rural areas helping in craft training, home economics, recreational, social and cultural activities.
- (ii) Literacy.

Craft Development Agency

Promotes craft work among the youth of the villages.

Within the Ministry of Youth and Community Development lies the responsibility for Care and Protection - Foster Care, Children's Homes, Approved Schools, Remand Homes and Places of Safety. There is also the Probation Service."

There are eight Approved schools: six for boys with a total accommodation for 580, and two for girls with accommodation for 75.

The Ministry of Trade and Tourism has undertaken Middle and Hotel management training (Jamaica School of Hotel Management enrolment 150), for example at the Government sponsored Casa Monte Hotel in Stony Hill, Upper St. Andrew, sponsored training of apprentices in the United Kingdom, and carried out staff and junior management Hotel training. Courses ranged from three months to one year.

The Ministry of Rural Development, together with the Ministry of Agriculture and Fisheries and the Ministry of Youth and Development, has oversight of the 4H clubs, with membership of 25,000⁽¹⁾ and eleven training centres, visits to which would reveal,

(1) "4H Clubs 1940-1970" Anniversary publication.

CHART I

4H TRAINING CENTRES.

(1).

NAME	LOCATION	ORIGINAL ASSETS	STAGE OF DEVELOPMENT	SPONSORSHIP	USAGE
CHARLOTTENBURGH	St. Mary — near Highgate	Great House in fair condition of repairs on Land Settlement Reserve. 6 acres of mixed crops.	Addition of a Teaching Kitchen, Home Economics Centre, Workshop and Offices. Refurbishing of Main Building. Renovation of field crops and addition of new crops.	—	Training Courses in Leadership, Agricultural Practices, Home-making; Used by other Agencies.
THATCHFIELD	St. Ann — near Browns Town	Old House on 26 acres of Land Settlement Reserve.	Minor repairs to house. Establishment of crops on an experimental basis. Land completely enclosed.	—	Training Courses and Training Days
NEW FOREST	Trelawny — near Duanvale	25 acres of land and remains of Old Great House.	Kitchen & Caretaker's quarters rebuilt. (10,000 Gal.) tank added. Compound completely fenced and 700 plantains established.	Kaiser Bauville Co.	Work Camps Training Days.
VERNAMEFIELD	Clarendon — 9 miles South/West of May Pen	50 acres in ruin and old foundations.	25 acres pasture established and sub-divided. A herd of 17 Holstein cows of which 7 are being milked. Milk Shed, Storerooms, Caretaker's quarters completed. Pipe line for domestic Water Supply laid.	Heifer Project of New York Incorporated	Training for prospective owners of revolving herd cows. Training for Tractor Operators.
ROSE HALL	St. Catherine — near Linstead	10 acres and an old Great House	Compound fenced. Estimates and Plans for Development completed.	Lions Club — North St. Catherine	Training Days
CHUDLEIGH	Manchester — near Christiana	Recreation Grounds & Club House: owned by Settlers' Association	—	—	Joint use with Settlers' Association
ROEHAMPTON	St. James — near Anchovy	19 acres of Land Settlement Reserve: and Great House in good condition	Recently acquired Estimates & Plans being prepared	Young Farmers' Clubs of England and Wales; German Volunteer Programme	Training Events
DENBIGH	Clarendon — near May Pen	(i) Dormitory Block to accommodate 80 residents. (ii) Lecture Hall & Kitchen	New Home Economics, Metal Work and Wood Work Centres. 3 Tractors as gifts — Tools for Metal Work and Wood Work as also Home Economics utensils.	Kaiser Bauville Co.	Extended courses in Metal Work, Wood Work, Home Economics and Tractor Operations. Occupied by other Agencies & Private bodies for Conferences, Shows, etc.
WARMINSTER	St. Elizabeth — near Myersville	Old Great House on 22 acres Land Settlement Reserve	14 acres cleared — Pastures established and sub-divided for cows. 5 cows at present. 4 acres established in pastures, sub-divided for goats — 26 goats at present. A Delco Plant running Water added: 2 acres established in fruit orchards. Pig pens established and Pigs reared.	Alpart Jr. Ltd.	Short and extended Courses in Animal Husbandry-Agriculture, Home Economics, Leadership, Revolving Dairy: Pig & Goat Projects for supply of stock to trainees.
SALISBURY PLAIN	St. Andrew — near Above Rocks	Old Land Settlement Building on Reserve of two acres	Home Economics: Block added. Old Building replaced by modern structure. Agricultural crops established. Pig Pen built and Pigs reared.	Shell Co. West Indies I.F.Y.E. Alumni of the United States	Residential Courses — Training Centre used by other Organisations.
ANNE DOUGLAS DILLON	Hanover — near Jericho	Land Settlement — House and 20 acres of land on reserve	Addition of Lecture Hall, Water and Lights (Delco Plant). Establishment of grass, sub-division of pastures and preparation of lands for food crops.	Tyral Trust Hanover Charities	Training Courses in Leadership; Livestock, Food Crops. Used by other Agencies.

(1)

4H Clubs 1949-1970.

"tractor operators, dairy farmers, welders and future housewives in the making. These spend approximately five months undergoing intensive training."⁽¹⁾

The most popular project areas in Jamaica are⁽²⁾

"Animal rearing, Dairy development,
Crop growing and plant propagation;
Vegetable growing;
Farm mechanics, plumbing, etc.,
Clothing,
Preservation of foods,
Preparation of meals,
Child care,
Craft - Straw/Woodwork, etc.,
Saving,
Community Service,
First Aid."

Many of the clubs were initiated in the rural schools and a debt of gratitude to teachers there is recorded in the celebratory booklet. Farmers' training courses, (1969 enrolment 1,032) on a weekly basis were carried on in a further four centres.

The Ministry of Agriculture also controls the Jamaica School of Agriculture and agricultural vocational education. The School provides training in the theory and practice of agriculture. Its courses lead to Diplomas and associateships in agriculture and household science. Courses have been approved to produce teachers of agricultural Science at the rural Technical and Junior Secondary schools. In 1968-69 the Jamaica School of Agriculture had an enrolment of 253.⁽³⁾ Graduates in agriculture may proceed to the University of the West Indies for a shortened degree course.

A National Industrial Training Board was established by the Ministry of Labour, under the guidance of a National Commission appointed in 1967, which has established a crash programme designed to satisfy immediate demands of industry based on six to twelve month courses at nine training centres (1969-70 enrolment of 950 students).⁽⁴⁾ Trainees were selected from⁽⁵⁾

(1) Ibid.

(2) Ibid.

(3) "National Physical Plan for Jamaica" United Nations special fund project. October 1971. p 80.

(4) Ibid.

(5) Isaac-Henry, S.W. "Vocational Training in Jamaica 1972" Seminar paper at a Symposium on Maritime Training November 1972.

- "(a) Artisans registered at the Government Employment Bureau who had some exposure to skilled trades.
- (b) Workmen actually employed but whose performance was unsatisfactory.
- (c) Graduates of Youth Camps.
- (d) Graduates of Technical Institutes with preliminary training.

..... the training in these centres supplements the work of the Ministry of Education: it concentrates on the school leaver and the worker whose skills need up-grading. Recruits are between the ages of 17-35.

The areas of training cover the following occupations

Welding	Electrical installation
Plumbing	Sheet metal working
Millwright	Stenography/typing
Heavy duty mechanics	Office machine operating
Carpentry	Cashier and Sales
Steel-fixing	Radio and T.V. Servicing
Masonry	Hotel work."

Experts recruited under the auspices of the UNDP/ILO Project have developed curricula for use in the centres and a flow of Trade Instructors supplemented by members of the British and German Voluntary Service Organisations, Canadian International Development Agency and the Canadian External Aid programme has brought useful guidance and enabled the further training of Jamaican counterparts in the teaching cadre. Other instructors have come from Jamaican industry, as repatriate technicians or tradesmen or from the Peace Corps.

The Jamaica Industrial Development Corporation, which together with industrially zoned private lands had a reserve of 1,500 acres under its control has undertaken training in

"Industrial and Commercial accounting, Industrial Engineering, Marketing and Sales, Production Control, Workstudy, Supervision and Management.

Its more directly vocational activities include:

1. The construction of buildings leased by the Ministry of Labour for operation as Industrial centres.
2. Conducting special courses for the up-grading of skills at the request of Industry and/or the Trade Unions.

3. The establishment, in association with the United Nations Industrial Development Organisation of a unit for training in the repairs and maintenance of machinery equipment and tools.
4. The establishment, with the help of a UNIDO adviser of a Toolmakers Institute in the Industrial Estate.
5. The assistance given to the Ministry of Youth and Community Development in its institutional (prison) training.⁽¹⁾ (Isaac-Henry)"

HIGHER EDUCATION: COLLEGE OF ARTS, SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY

The College of Arts, Science and Technology, begun in 1958 as the Jamaica Institute of Technology, has been subject to expansion throughout the period of Independence. In the first 'Five year Independence Plan',⁽²⁾ the assistance of the Council of Overseas Colleges of Arts, Science and Technology and the Commonwealth Development and Welfare Organisation was acknowledged in the development of the College to an accommodation status of 300 full-time day students. The recognised peers of industry trade and commerce, in terms of technicians and technologists, were seen as the justification for continued expansion.

In the 1966 'New Deal' summary of objectives,⁽³⁾ the declared intention was;

"to increase the regular day enrolment of CAST from 343 in 1965 to 766 by 1969."

Additional part time figures in 1966 showed 923 students: 443 part-time day release and 480 evening students - Total enrolment 1,266.

Part of the World Bank Loan was designated⁽⁴⁾

"for the addition of seven classrooms, one lecture hall, one assembly hall, two drawing offices and seventeen rooms to be used for laboratories, work-shops, commercial classes and administrative offices, hostel for 50 female students and six staff houses. The project also provides for furniture, instructional equipment, technical services and site development."

(1) Ibid.

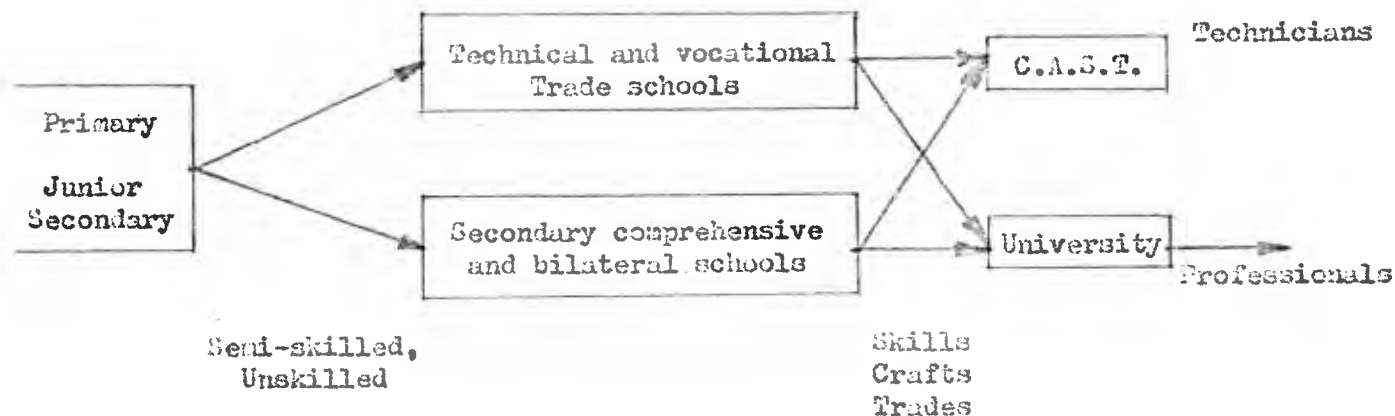
(2) Op.cit., p 165 Higher Education.

(3) Ministry Paper No. 73: Op.cit. Summary. para 5(c).

(4) Ibid. Pt. I, p 11.

C.A.S.T. - Site and course development

Built on a 35 acre site previously occupied by the Jamaica School of Agriculture (the Royal Botanic Gardens are on one adjacent site), the original terms of reference were to train candidates to the level of the English Higher National Certificate. C.A.S.T. is the next educational phase for students who have completed the second cycle of secondary courses and wish to receive training in specific vocational fields. ⁽¹⁾



Over the years the College has developed a wider range of courses designed to meet the middle manpower needs of Jamaica's expanding economy, such as para-professional recruits to supplement and augment the professionally qualified personnel which the University of the West Indies aims to produce. Although the ethos of the Masterplan was consistent in its aims to produce at the technician or middle management levels its further claim that "Studies at the College can become a step towards full professional studies" ⁽²⁾ has been astutely observed by sections of society in the island. Evidence exists which suggests that, far from the dichotomous flow plan of the model above, C.A.S.T. is seen as an alternative extension to academic high school education.

The enrolment and course performance figures which follow demonstrate in part the tendency of overstatement contained in the Performance Report of the Ministry of Education, ⁽³⁾ where the 1969-70 projection for full time places was 726 and the anticipated output of qualified personnel was 284.

(1) "College of Arts, Science & Technology, Report and Masterplan" July 1971. Section B p 3.

(2) Ibid.

(3) Ministry Performance Report. 1969-1970. Op.cit. Sect.VIII Higher Education.

Table No. LXIX

C.A.S.T. Student numbers registered
in first term⁽¹⁾

Academic year	Full-time	Part-time	Evening	Total
1968-69	393	616	317	1,326
1969-70	403	657	430	1,490
1970-71	491	721	492	1,704
1971-72	641	773	474	1,888
1972-73	762	847	445	2,054

Table No. LXX

C.A.S.T. Breakdown of student numbers
1972-73 by Departments⁽²⁾

Course area	Full-time	Part-time	Evening	Total numbers
Building	99	170	0	269
Commerce	237	269	208	714
Engineering	188	385	104	667
Institutional management	59	23	14	96
Science	160	0	119	279
Teacher training	19	0	0	19
Totals	762	847	445	2,054

The impression of growing numbers gained by this data on first term enrolment is moderated by the proportions of the end product from courses with duration stretching from one year full time to four years part time.

Table No. LXXI

C.A.S.T. Summary of Diplomas and Certificates
by Departments for 1971-72⁽³⁾

	Build ing	Com merce	Engin eering	Inst'l Mang't.	Science	Teacher Training	Total
Diplomas	13	9	21	Not av.	4	Not until 1973	67
Certificates	39	55	95	25	55		269

(1) "Principal's Report, C.A.S.T." March 1973

(2) Ibid.

(3) Ibid.

Part of the discrepancy is accountable by comment in the report of a drop-out rate of twenty per cent and of staffing difficulties in all departments (which may well lead to student wastage) due to transient appointments and the continual loss of staff to the higher inducements of outside employment in the relevant fields.

Supporting agencies

There is a ready acknowledgement of appreciation for support from:

The Canadian International Development Agency for technical assistance and staffing;
 Commercial Banks (through Bank of Jamaica) for assistance with the Bankers' Course;
 The German Volunteer Service for assistance with staffing;
 The Institute of Chartered Accountants of Jamaica for assistance with staffing;
 Jamaica International Telecommunications Limited for assistance with staffing;
 The Shell Company for gift of motor car engine and gear box;
 The United Kingdom Government for technical assistance, staffing and fellowships;
 The United Nations Development Programme through the International Telecommunications Union for assistance with staffing.

Field study analysis

Access to the records of five courses for 1972-73 enabled analysis across a number of variables.

Educational background of students

Table No. LXXII

C.A.S.T. Student roll on five courses,
by year and educational background

Course	High School	Tech. School	Comp. School	Other	Total	Year
Building 1	21	3	1	2	27	1st
Building 2	16	8	-	1	25	2nd
Commerce	51	1	-	-	52	1st
Eng. Elec.	30	7	-	-	37	1st
Eng. Mech	17	13	1	6	37	1st
Totals	135	32	2	9	178	

The variable of secondary school background was identified by two of the Technical High school head-teachers interviewed whose observation was based upon two factors:

- 1: that their own graduates found difficulty in gaining places at what appeared to be the logical higher education institution and,
- 2: that while their pupils received scientific training relevant to a technological pattern of higher education, other pupils with more formal sciences were preferred into that pattern with its subsequent occupational opportunity. In course 5 (Diploma in Mechanical Engineering) 45 out of 49 passes in relevant 'O' level qualifying subjects were gained by technical school graduates.

Both factors operated, it was declared, despite a higher qualitative performance, at school examination standard, by technical school graduates over high school graduates, who, it may be assumed, turned to C.A.S.T. having failed to gain entry to U.W.I.

Examinations: Choice of subject by schools/candidates

Table No. LXXIII

C.A.S.T. Subject analysis of Mathematics, Science and Technical examination qualifications: Students enrolled on two Engineering Courses 1972-73 (37 students each)

Subject Grouping	Dip. Mech. Engineering		Dip. Elec. Engineering	
	Performance			
	Pass	Fail	Pass	Fail
Mathematics	41	4	37	4
Addit'l Maths	6	2	3	6
Physics	24	8	21	4
Chemistry	24	4	24	8
Biology	11	4	18	2
General Science	2	-	-	-
Chem with Physics	-	-	3	-
Agric. Science	-	-	3	-
Sub Total	108	22	110	24
Technical Drawing	14	-	3	2
Engineering Science	20	1	4	-
Workshop practice	11	1	7	-
Auto tech.	1	-	-	-
Survey	1	-	-	-
Building Science	1	-	-	-
Geology	1	-	-	-
Commerce			1	-
Electrical engineering			1	-
Electrical certificate			6	-
Electrical practice			1	-
Sub Total	49	2	23	2

Table No. LXXIV

C.A.S.T. Examination standards of students
enrolled, by school of origin, on two Engin-
eering Courses 1972-73 (37 students each)

School of origin of candidates	Dip. Mech. Eng.			Dip. Elec. Eng.		
	No. of students	Subjects		No. of students	Subjects	
		Pass	Fail		Pass	Fail
High school	17	73	24	26	131	47
Technical school	13	101	6	7	42	1
Ev'g/Extension classes	4	21	5	4	23	2
Comprehensive school	1	10	1	-	-	-
English education	1	6	-	-	-	-
'Other' (not specified)	1	4	-	-	-	-
Totals	37	215	36	37	196	50

Table No. LXXV

C.A.S.T. Course acceptances: Examination
standards of students enrolled on five courses
1972-73.

	Building		Commerce	Engineering	
	Dip 1c	Dip 2c	1st Yr.	Mech.	Elec.
	1st Yr.	2nd Yr.		1st Yr.	1st Yr.
Course acceptances	27	25	52	37	37
'O' level successes	114 ⁺	108	244 ⁺	215	196
'O' level failed	22	37	52	36	50
'O' level equivalents	12	2	-	-	-
Sample size	100%	100%	60%	100%	100%

⁺ includes 2 'A' level passes.

At the early stages of the thesis plan and certainly in the initial phase of the field work, it became obvious that it would not be feasible to apply to teachers' colleges the inquiry method devised to elicit information on educational provision in schools. This is not to denigrate the position of teacher education but merely to acknowledge that its vital contribution to the well-being of the whole structure of education, the subtlety of its relationships with both schools and the administration, the crucial nature of the demands made by both population growth and economic expansion upon the teacher education service itself, and the effects of changing teacher role and status vis-a-vis the Jamaican society, made of this particular area a study too vital and voluminous to fit into a mere chapter.

Instead, it was felt that by adopting the present chapter heading it might be possible to trace an outline of the nature of the profession within the chosen period, to define the nature of difficulties and deficiencies inherited from the colonial era, to identify some of the patterns of change in the period of transition between self-government and Independence and, particularly, to clarify the circumstances and influences bearing upon the teacher in the decade of the seventies.

Historical perspective

The West India Royal Commission⁽¹⁾ disclosed that in the British West Indies in 1937, there were 5,811 teachers and 1,506 pupil teachers (pupils who completed the highest grade in the elementary school could become pupil teachers), or one pupil teacher to every four teachers. The Commission report condemned the system and recommended

"perseverance with reforms to ensure that all teachers have received a systematic training and to reduce as speedily as possible the pupil teacher system."⁽²⁾

(1) West India Royal Commission Report. Cmnd 6607, H.M.S.O., London 1945.

(2) Ibid. p 123.

Further suggestions were linked with:

- (a) a broad general secondary education as a required educational background for intending teachers;
- (b) the appropriateness of a rural environment for teachers' training colleges;
- (c) concentration on professional studies, and
- (d) that these should be positively associated with the range of compulsory practical subjects recommended by the Commission - gardening and elementary botany, domestic science, handicrafts and physical education.⁽¹⁾

The Kandel Commission, though initially concerned with secondary education in Jamaica, reiterated a number of observations.

"The traditional concept of teacher training emphasised the development of skills or methods of teaching. The pupil teacher system grew out of the idea that these skills could be acquired, like skills in trades, by a system of apprenticeship. When institutions for the training of teachers were established the same idea was carried further to the stage of training journeymen with formal courses in general methods and class and school management.

With the changing aims of education the scope of the teacher's professional task has been broadened. The teacher must have broader contacts with his world than those provided by the traditional ladder up which he passes as a pupil, a pupil-teacher, a student in a training college and a teacher. He must himself be an educated person with a background as rich and broad as that enjoyed by members of other professions." (2)

The development of teacher education was to be raised from the level of training to that of professional development so as to enhance both individual capacities and a sense of responsibility. The pupil teacher system, it was maintained, perpetuated the practices of the elementary system and precluded the possibility of adaptation to the varying circumstances of both pupil and intending teacher.

(1) Ibid. p 125.

(2) The Kandel Commission
Op.cit. pp 145, 146.

Four training colleges for elementary school teachers were in operation at the time of the report. They were Mico, Shortwood and St. Joseph's Training Colleges located in Kingston and Bethlehem Moravian Training College situated in a rural area. All the colleges were boarding institutions and accommodated about two hundred students all told.

"The number of (students) who have passed through a secondary school is small, partly because there is no established relationship between the secondary schools and the training colleges, partly because the teaching career is never a first choice among secondary school pupils and partly because the poor status of elementary school teachers has been constantly stressed by teachers and their organisations."(1)

Recognition of this dichotomy within the profession conformed to socially divisive aspects of the society. "White", or upper class schools related to elite groups and the opprobrium of low social status was equated first with the elementary school system and then with the teachers who served its interests. The Report went on to emphasise, not the maintenance of these relative positions, but a possibility of amelioration of differences by the process of enriching the experiential and intellectual development of student teachers. While it was recognised that the complexities of setting out both cultural and professional content would result in 'a tremendous overcrowding of the curriculum', the position could be eased by the institution of 'junior training colleges', thus making possible a period of orientation towards the twin goals stated above. Realistic assessments were made of the limited capacities of the existing secondary schools to facilitate improved knowledge and awareness for intending students from elementary schools. 'Senior' schools were in an even more constricted position but the cost of extending secondary opportunity by the expedient of opening more schools in other parts of the island than urbanised areas 'would not be prohibitive'. Suggestions in support of this solution went on to posit an amended curriculum for the secondary age range, or particularly for the intending student teacher, Such changes would incorporate practical subjects.

(1) Ibid. p 150.

"Greater emphasis would be placed upon those subjects which will have to be taught later in the elementary schools not in the sense of review but to provide a fuller and richer cultural background in them the emphasis in such a course would be on the social meaning rather than on the theory and techniques of education.

Admitting students with this type of preparation the training colleges would be relieved of the burden of providing general education and could devote their full time to professional preparation."(1)

A significant hazard for the profession was recognised at a later stage in the Report. The urban location of three of the four colleges then operating was seen to have a dislocating effect on students, whose commitment was to the rural population of their birth, but whose attitudes and expectations, as well as their professional preparation would be influenced, possibly adversely, by its taking place in an urban or suburban environment. Accordingly, among the Recommendations was included:

"In the interests of more appropriate professional preparation the Mico Training College and Shortwood Training College should be combined and moved to a rural centre, preferably near an institution for agricultural education."(2)

The Easter Committee report had terms of reference to consider the views and suggest any modification to the recommendations of the Kandel Report and to indicate precise measures necessary to give them effect as well as the financial implications thereof. In respect of the recommendation to stress the rural needs of the community moderating influences brought about a change of emphasis:

"We recommend:

That the existing system of training Colleges be replaced by a single College for men and women, the main building of which should be at Mico with a Department in a rural area; that the College be interdenominational in character and under a single Board of Governors."(3)

The urgency of the need for intending teachers to benefit from secondary education was not repeated except in terms,

(1) Ibid. pp 155, 156.

(2) Ibid. Recommendation 23.

(3) Easter Report.
Op.cit.p 130, Section VI - The training of Teachers.

"that one of the entry requirements to the two year course leading to the qualification of assistant teacher of the first class (A 1) shall be that candidates shall have reached the standard of the School Certificate or an equivalent standard."(1)

The continuance of teacher education in existing colleges, together with the addition of Church Teachers' College in 1965 showed that sectional interests were not easy to overcome. Financial stringency probably dictated the course of events, but in any case the situation remained as one in which the supply of adequately qualified candidates and the capacity of the college system to keep pace with the increasing demand for trained teachers remained at an unsatisfactory level; this despite the establishment of two of the 'Junior Teachers' colleges at Moneague and Caledonia in 1956 and 1957 respectively.

Examination of new needs in education as an expression of an increasing measure in self government had, by 1957, led to the formulation of national policies, enunciated in the National Plan for Jamaica of the Peoples' National Party. The weight of the demand upon existing facilities for teacher education was seen as justification for the two new institutions, both intended to improve and expand pre-service training for intending teachers. Moneague was intended to cater for the better qualified probationer by a one-year course in full-time training, either to proceed to a higher grade in 'pre-trained' status, or to proceed to a recognised teachers' college. Caledonia College was to provide intensive twenty-week courses in basic studies and primary teaching methods. Students, in order to gain subsequent qualified status, would be required to pursue their studies further.

Control of Teacher Education

Following the Easter Committee recommendation that,

"subject to the general approval of the Central Education Authority the Training College courses shall be planned and developed by the College in consultation with the panel of Inspectors and Supervisors,"(2)

control of teacher education passed into the hand of the Department of Education

(1) Ibid. p 130 Recommendation 6.

(2) Ibid. p 130 Recommendation 7.

until 1956, when the Jamaica Government in collaboration with the Education Department of the University College of the West Indies, agreed to hand over to the training colleges a major share in the running of their own affairs, under the auspices of the Board of Teacher Training, later to become the Institute Board of Teacher Education of the School of Education of the University of the West Indies. The Board comprised the Principals of the six training colleges, representatives of the Ministry of Education, the Education Advisory Council and the University, (latterly), and 'other members'. Teacher associations or organisations, as interested parties, represented the positions held in Jamaican society by the schools they were linked with. From the beginning of the period under review, elementary school teachers were represented by the Jamaica Union of Teachers, whereas teachers in the more prestigious secondary sector formed the Assistant Masters' and the Assistant Mistresses' and the Headmasters' and Headmistresses' associations. Not until 1962 were the island teachers' interests united under the Jamaica Teachers' Association.

The parties represented by 'other members' were made apparent in the Evans (1) Committee Report, which recommended that the composition of the Board of Teacher Training should be:

"Members from,		
The Ministry of Education	2 plus Secretary	
University College of the West Indies		3
Teacher Training Colleges, Principals		3
	Lecturers	3
College of Arts, Science and Technology		1
Association of Headmasters and Headmistresses		1
Jamaica Union of Teachers		1
Education Advisory Council		1
Association of Teacher Training Services		1
"One public spirited citizen"		1" (2)

Among the matters discussed by the Committee was the need for correspondence courses, designed to enrich the educational standards of intending student teachers. They were to validate a standard, under the auspices of the Board of Teacher Training, of 'pre-training Grade 3' which could then ensure entry to a two year full-time

(1) Committee on the Development of Teacher Training in Jamaica.

Chairman, P.C.C. Evans. Ministry of Education, Kingston. 15th December 1960.

(2) Ibid. p 69. (Recommendation 16).

course leading to qualified status. A further issue, of some urgency in the eyes of the Committee, was that -

"Training colleges should start to experiment with the running of special one-year supplementary courses in the different subjects of the Senior school curriculum:...

Supplementary course in Agriculture;.....
 Supplementary course in Woodwork, Metalwork,
 Art and Craft or Home Economics. " (1)

The main emphases of the report of the Committee appeared to be in accord with the earlier recommendations of the Kandel and Easter Reports, stressing the need for a broadening of the experience and the range of curricula of intending teachers. This was implied directly in the recommendation for the establishment of a teacher training wing at the College of Arts, Science and Technology. (2)

It was apparent, from the deliberations of all three Committees, that some concern was felt over the potential of serving, as well as intending teachers. The Easter Committee had recommended that, in the interest of securing better qualifications,

"scholarships be provided as soon as possible for:

1. Selected members of Training College staffs;
2. Selected teachers in service;
3. Selected administrative officers of the education department;
4. Selected students to enable them to qualify as teachers by taking abroad courses leading to a University Degree and Teachers' Diploma, or other approved courses." (3)

Such courses were offered, from 1953, by the Department of Education of the University College of the West Indies. The establishment of the Junior Training Colleges at Moneague and Caledonia and correspondence courses conducted by the Ministry of Education, together with summer vacation courses, provided probationer teachers with the alternatives of an in-service course or private study, either of which could enable them to reach the desired standards for entry into a

(1) Ibid. p 74 (Recommendations 48 - 50).

(2) Ibid. p 75 (recommendation 51).

(3) Easter Committee Report. Op.cit. p 130. (Recommendation 9.)

teacher training course. As the University of the West Indies received its Charter and opened its Institute of Education, bringing with it later the formation of a Faculty of Education, so opportunities opened up for teachers to engage in higher studies. These included Ministry sponsored scholarships leading to the Certificate of Education of the U.W.I., at non-graduate level or the Bachelor of Education degree, as well as Teachers' Engineering scholarships and bursaries to the University or scholarships to the College of Arts, Science and Technology. The Institute of Education also offered courses for the Post-graduate Diploma in Education and the Higher Diploma as well as degrees at Master's and Doctorate levels. However, it must be acknowledged that the number of students enrolled in the faculty of Education of the University, as shown in the Department of Statistics Facts on Jamaica,⁽¹⁾ was small in relation to the numbers in other faculties, at both degree and non-degree levels.

Problems of teacher supply.

A recurring theme in the study of Jamaican education is concerned with the persistence of the deficit in trained teachers for the state schools which necessitated the employment of untrained staff (previously described under the Ministry of Education euphemism 'pre-trained'). Directly related to this was the level of operation of the island Teachers' Colleges, which constituted two major problem areas: first, the need to maintain an annual output sufficient to meet the needs of an expanding school system and also to bring about a corrective effect on the proportions of trained over untrained staff and, secondly, the problem of drawing from the community (in-school or out) candidates of the right calibre and educational background for development as intending teachers.

Ostensibly, the question of teacher supply was nearing a solution with the much quoted 1969 Performance Report⁽²⁾ suggesting a 1971 output of one thousand graduates from teacher colleges in the Island, following a modest growth rate, generally, during the second J.L.P. administration. The following tables elaborate the position.

(1) Facts on Jamaica - Education.

Op. cit. Table 34. p 54.

(2) Performance Report 1969-70. Ministry of Education, Kingston.

TABLE LXXVI

Student enrolment in Jamaica
Teachers' Colleges, 1967 - 1971

College	Enrolment		
	1967	1969	1971
Bethlehem	158	155	158
Church	207	257	180
Mico	650	652	680
Moneague	100	222	400
Shortwood	448	450	450
St. Joseph's	250	253	250
Totals	1,813	1,989	2,118

Sources: 1967 Figueroa. Op cit. p 127
 1969 Performance Report. Section ix
 1971 A Teachers' Guide to Jamaica p 102 - 105

TABLE LXVII

Teachers' Colleges in Jamaica, 1971, by region, enrolment, staffing, sponsorship and curriculum

College/ Parish	Urban/ rural	Enrolment	Staff		Sponsor	Student training designated as for:	Subjects offered ("Among others")												
			Grad	Non grad		Prin. Sec	Eng	Ma	Art Cr	P.E.	Mus	H/ Ec	Hist	Gen Sc	Rel Kn	Geo	Span	Soc St	
Bethlehem St. Elizabeth	Rural	158	Fem	8	3	Moravian Church	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓			✓					
Church Manchester	Urban	180	Co-ed	19	3	Anglican Ch in Jamaica	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Mico K.S.A.C.	Urban	680	Co-ed	39	11	Trust/ Ministry	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓			✓		
Moneague St. Ann	Rural	400	Co-ed	21	6	Ministry	✓	-	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓				
Shortwood K.S.A.C.	Urban	450	Fem	28	13	Ministry	✓	-	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓				
St. Joseph's K.S.A.C.	Urban	250	Co-ed	16	12	R.C. O.S.F. (N. York)	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓

Source: "A Teachers' Guide to Jamaica". 1971. p 102 - 105

The situation at the end of the 1950's was outlined in the Performance Report:

"In September 1969 the teaching profession numbered approximately 11,800. This figure includes re-employed pensioners and substitute teachers (teachers acting in place of teachers on leave).

The teachers are located as follows:

9,073	in Primary and Infant Schools
1,116	in Junior Secondary Schools
1,421	in Secondary High, Comprehensive High and Technical High Schools
38	in Trade and Vocational Schools
147	in Teachers' Colleges
40	at C.A.S.T.

11,835 TOTAL (as of September 1969)

The overall increase in the teaching force is due to the following factors -

- (a) increased output of the Teachers' Colleges - approximately 1,000 teachers from the Teachers' Colleges enter the teaching force in September 1969,
- (b) response of retired teachers to the Ministry's invitation to re-join the teaching service,
- (c) twenty-two new Junior Secondary schools which commenced operation in September 1969,
- (d) 4,000 additional school places provided in primary schools as from September 1969,
- (e) increase in the number of untrained teachers employed."⁽¹⁾

However, Ministerial claims to approaching self-sufficiency in teacher supply were not upheld subsequently, as inquiries by the Institute of Education of the U.W.I., the P.N.P. administration, and evidence from the decennial census showed. Nor was supply allocated even-handedly across the educational system. Rather, as the following tables seem to suggest, the outcome served to maintain and sustain the privileged conditions in secondary education.

(1) Ibid. Sect. IX

Despite early forecasts in the Five Year Independence Plan, 1963 - 1968, that the staffing of all primary schools and senior departments of all-age schools would be based on the ratio of 2:1 trained to partially trained teachers:

"The statistics show that there will be 2,722 college trained teachers in all types of school, including high schools, during 1973."(1)

The tables show a marked divergence in teacher supply between the elementary and the secondary sectors, with further anomalies in the proportion of graduate to non-graduate staff as between secondary schools in the High, Technical and Comprehensive categories.

Despite these undoubtedly well-founded staffing allocations at the end of the decade, expressions of alarm were vented on behalf of the secondary sector. Maikan⁽²⁾ presented a series of observations based on the low recruitment rates to Jamaican High schools from U.W.I. graduates, the disincentives for local graduates and teachers in the form of preferential treatment for expatriates, and penalties within the tax structure which militated against the return to the classroom of more teachers past retiring age. His most constructive suggestions were bound up with the notion of bonded service within the schools as a form of fulfilling an obligation to society, more especially in the case of bursaried or scholarship students.

(1) Ibid. p 164

(2) Maikan J.A. Teacher shortage in the secondary school.
Sunday Gleaner, Dec. 1970.

TABLE LXXVII(1)

Teaching force in state primary and all-age schools
by category, 1965 - 1970

Status of teaching force		1965-66	1966-67	1967-68	1968-69	1969-70	Average increase 1965-70
Unqualified teachers	Number	5,831	n.a.	6,647	7,087	7,491	5.25%
	% increase	-	-	14%	6.6%	5.7%	
Qualified teachers	Number	2,266	2,266	2,498	2,530	2,643	3.33%
	% increase	-	0%	10.24%	1.3%	4.46%	
Specialists	Number	156	n.a.	123	127	222	8.46%
	% increase	-	-	minus 21%	3.25%	74.8%	
Re-trained (1)	Number	720	n.a.	723	973	1,670	26.39%
	% increase	-	-	0.4%	34.6%	71.6%	
Probationers (2)	Number	1,776	n.a.	2,115	2,066	2,070	3.31%
	% increase	-	-	19.1%	minus 2.3%	0.2%	
Qualified/Specialist teachers as % of Total.		41.5%	n.a.	39.43%	37.49%	38.4%	

"(1) Unqualified teachers with 'preliminary training from the Caledonia Junior Teachers' College.

(2) Unqualified teachers 'with minimum requirements for teaching in primary schools (i.e., passes in five subjects in the J.S.C., or four subjects in the G.C.E.)."

TABLE LXXIX (1)Teaching force by category in Secondary schools, 1965 - 1970

Status of teaching force	1965-66	1966-67	1967-68	1968-69	1969-70
<u>JUNIOR SECONDARY SCHOOLS</u>					
Trained teachers	318	394	385	426	844
Pre-trained	19	25	50	71	44
Trained teachers as proportion of total	94.4%	94.1%	88.5%	85.72%	95.05%
<u>HIGH SCHOOLS</u>					
Graduate teachers	662	679	678	704	717
College trained teachers	360	332	403	383	383
Pre-trained	79	97	70	102	78
Graduate teachers as proportion of total	60.1%	60.7%	58.9%	59.2%	60.9%
<u>TECHNICAL HIGH SCHOOLS</u>					
Graduate teachers	79	82	88	87	91
College trained teachers	70	73	89	99	108
Pre-trained	26	25	21	18	14
Graduate teachers as proportion of total	45.1%	45.5%	44.4%	42.6%	42.7%
<u>COMPREHENSIVE HIGH SCHOOLS</u>					
Graduate teachers	9	12	16	17	15
College trained teachers	69	60	56	78	73
Pre-trained	-	1	7	6	9
Graduate teachers as proportion of total	11.5%	16.4%	20.25%	16.8%	15.5%

Problems of recruitment to the Teachers' Colleges of candidates with an appropriate educational background were aired by Myers. (2) She outlined the major problem as being that of intending student teachers, who had an all-age school background of education at a concrete level in the assimilation of basic

(1) Source: Abstract from Table 20 "Facts on Jamaica: Education." Op. Cit.

(2) Myers, M. Teacher education: problem of quality, very real, urgent.
Sunday Gleaner, Jan. 31, 1971.

skills in numeracy and literacy, being expected to work at the level of abstraction necessarily involved in the study of educational disciplines, not to mention the nuances of literary studies, the humanities or sciences.

Quality in teacher recruitment

This accentuated the problem of quality in teacher recruitment, which together with the question of attracting recruits in the required number had already been aired by Davis.⁽¹⁾ Commenting upon professionally desirable traits such as articulacy, skill in communications and interpersonal relations and an understanding of human development, he stressed that these aptitudes are

"acquired and sharpened through education, training and the experience of living in a culture of reasonable quality."⁽²⁾

Davis went on to point out that most training programmes for primary teachers merely attempt to remedy marked deficiencies in basic knowledge and skills. At best, in the English-speaking Caribbean, they could only hope to encourage a deepening knowledge through self-development. He also stressed the phenomenon of the 'pre-trained' teacher, entering directly into full-time class teaching with less than a secondary-level general education. Such teachers, it was pointed out, were heavily dependent on the teacher models they had had previously,

"thus the situation tends to be self-perpetuating across generations and requires a very long time to break down."⁽³⁾

This lack of any form of training in the case of a substantial proportion of the teaching force necessitated the provision of in-service training across a broad front - a feature in itself imposing stressful demands upon the cohorts of trained staff in the Island system. A not insignificant part of the problem lay in the potential resistance of practising 'probationers' or 'pre-trainees',

"after all, the teachers have gone through some kind of ritual which has passed as teaching and it is sometimes more difficult to unlearn than to learn."⁽⁴⁾

(1) Davis, R. G. Teacher training in a school system undergoing rapid expansion: The English-speaking Caribbean and the case in Jamaica. UN/CAR Seminar/4., 1967.

(2) Ibid. p 4

(3) Ibid. p 14

(4) Ibid. p 16

This pattern of expansion in teacher training within the recognised institutions also came under Davis's examination, together with the need for continuous support during the period of internship which had supplanted the third year of college based work.

"There will be an increase necessary to handle population growth. There will be an increase necessary to handle the increased proportion of age-groups to be accommodated in the schools. There will be an increase in retention with a resulting increase in demand in the upper grades of primary and lower cycle of secondary. There will be an increase needed to improve instruction through improved pupil/teacher ratios. There will be an increase needed to cover wastage from death, retirement and migration. There will also be an increase needed to replace untrained teachers who leave service for training."⁽¹⁾

Davis went on to postulate a wastage rate of ten to fifteen per cent, but in the period following his examination the situation in this respect deteriorated markedly. By 1972, depletion in the ranks of qualified personnel in the primary and all-age sectors, a constant bone of contention between the J.T.A. and the administration, had reached crisis proportions. The new party in office were not slow to publish the facts of the situation, a demonstration of concern which cannot fail to have heartened sore-pressed teachers. In setting up an 'Education Probe' as part of the mechanics for a rescue operation, policy discussions centred upon this area - the correction of trained to untrained teacher ratios.

The following influences bear upon the issue.

1. Regional difficulties.

The regional disparities inherent in a teaching force barely half of which was trained:

"Only in Kingston/St. Andrew do the trained teachers substantially out-number the pre-trained (1,578 trained; 551 pre-trained). In St. James, Manchester and St. Catherine the proportion is approximately equal, (1,137 trained; 1,154 pre-trained). For the remaining ten parishes for the month of December 1972 the un-trained outnumbered the trained as follows:

(1) Ibid. p 17

"	<u>Parish</u>	<u>Trained</u>	<u>Pre-trained</u>	
	St. Thomas	127	250	
	Portland	133	306	
	St. Mary	189	379	
	St. Ann	318	393	
	Trelawny	127	181	
	Hanover	96	252	
	Westmoreland	256	405	
	St. Elizabeth	276	442	
	Clarendon	444	593	
		<u>1,966</u>	<u>3,201</u>	"(1)

There was also disquieting evidence on the extent of wastage from the profession. Examination of the 'Teachers' Payroll for 1970 to 1972 revealed the following data:

"	<u>Engaged</u>	<u>Left service</u>	
Pre-trained	9,050	4,161	
Interns	1,145	268	
Trained	5,369	989	"(2)

These rates of attrition were further emphasised in a Ministerial address in Malvern,

"The system lost nearly 1,000 teachers in the 1971 - 1972 period The Minister concluded that it was necessary to establish dialogue with the Jamaica Teachers' Association; to take the association's leadership more and more into the confidence of the Ministry; and to make the teachers know the facts to help motivate them into a more dynamic role."(3)

2. Recruitment and selection for the profession.

Teachers were certainly not unaware of the difficulties which faced them. The Institute Board of Teacher Education on the Mona Campus had had, since 1971, a document on Teacher education⁽⁴⁾ which declared that

"Historically, in Jamaica, the teachers 'by what they were, by what they said and by what they did' were the most powerful recruiting instruments for the profession. The best of them were knowledgeable and able persons of practical importance and real effectiveness in the towns and villages throughout the island. This in itself created an attractive 'teacher image'."(5)

- (1) In-service qualification of pre-trained teachers. Planning Unit, Ministry of Education, Jamaica. Mimeo. Jan. 1973.
- (2) Ibid.
- (3) Daily Gleaner. April 4th, 1973.
- (4) Teacher education: an analysis. University of the West Indies Institute of Education. August 1971.
- (5) Ibid. p 3

The teachers embodying this image were motivated by the professional aims of being a good teacher and keeping a good school. They were also teachers in the primary and all-age schools since, traditionally, it was from this sector that recruitment to the island teacher colleges had been drawn. Previously, the colleges had been prestigious institutions for such pupils, not only as a base for entry into the elementary system but also as a stepping stone, for the more able students, to employment in other fields. As the document pointed out, without criticising the situation, the senior departments of such schools were depleted from the outset by the migration of the best pupils under the aegis of the Common Entrance Examination

"Regrettably, teaching has not been a particularly attractive contender the the interest of these young people The Teachers' Colleges did not provide a clear-cut and well articulated step in the educational climb towards the highest levels of teacher preparation and qualification."⁽¹⁾

At one of a series of talks by Teacher College Principals to secondary school sixth formers, fifty pupils declared an interest in teaching but the significant fact remained that only one of the fifty considered entry to the profession through a teachers' college.

On the question of actual standards of entry into the colleges the inquiry document proffered disturbing evidence.

"Over the last four years these academic qualifications have been listed as follows:

- (i) 5 J.S.C. subjects including English and Mathematics.
- (ii) A Third Jamaica Local Certificate.
- (iii) 4 G.C.E. 'O' level subjects including English.
- (iv) Cambridge School Certificate.
- (v) Second Jamaica Certificate of Education.
- (vi) Any other equivalent qualifications.

(1) Ibid. p 4

"The problem begins here. Five ordinary passes in the J.S.C. unquestionably are not good enough. Passes at credit or distinction level are extremely rare. In the current year, 1971, in one group of over 300 applicants investigated there was a total of less than 10 credits or distinctions in all subjects taken."(1)

The document went on to show qualifications offered by the intakes for the years 1968, 1969 and 1970.

"	<u>Third Jamaica Local or J.S.C.</u>	<u>One or more G.C.E.</u>	<u>Totals</u>
1968	530	245	775
1969	485	242	727
1970	610	262	872

and a further analysis of qualifications for entrants in 1970:

G.C.E. 'A'	G.C.E. 'O'			J.S.C.		Third Jam. Local	Total	
	5 - 9	3 - 4	1 - 2	5 - 9	1 - 4			
0	18	74	147	557	82	51	929	"(2)

Within the last four years prior to the date of the document, analysis of the performance of candidates in the Entrance Examination to Colleges was undertaken by Peace Corps Volunteers, using the 1968 results as a norm 'since there is little change from year to year on candidates' scores.' The examinations consisted of three simple objective tests in English, Mathematics and Learning Potential - 'these tests were designed by well-meaning groups who had no real expertise in the field of testing.'

"The findings show that in Mathematics 60% of those who take the test fail to earn the pass mark of 40. In English 63% of those who take the test fail to earn this same pass mark (40) and in the Learning Potential, 60% of these same applicants fail to earn a mark of 60

..... Actually the scores say very little to the Colleges since only a handful of Teachers' College lecturers have ever seen either the question papers or the answer sheets."(3)

It was acknowledged that while every effort should be made to upgrade the quality of recruits colleges would be forced to consider for entry students seriously deficient in the basic skills. At the same time, since colleges had

(1) Ibid. p 10
 (2) Ibid. p 11
 (3) Ibid. p 13

only two years of contact time it was unreasonable to expect that they could both upgrade their students and prepare them effectively as intending teachers. Serious attention to the promotion of remedial work within the college course claimed equal emphasis with the study of curriculum content, though it was stressed that, with tutors already fully committed to normal course requirements, much of the remedial work would have to be self-administering - with as much tutorial support as could be organised.

"Students, in consultation with their tutor could be tested whenever they felt ready, and if achieving the criterion level, be taken off the (remedial) programme." (1)

The severity of this problem was still evident at the time of the field study in 1972 - 73. Data from one College, rural and therefore not necessarily representative of the standards in urban college intakes, showed the reading and comprehension standards of the 1972 intake with an average reading age of 12.48 years. With a median age at entry of twenty-plus, reading age scores for eleven students were below 11.16. The next nineteen students scored at between 11.2 and 12 with the remaining fifty students scoring between 12.3 and 15.7 years. Only eleven students in this last group scored at reading ages above fourteen years.

As was observed in the analysis of Entrance Examination standards in the Institute Inquiry, Learning Potential scoring was at a consistently higher level with a median mark of above 60. The mean age of students for whom Learning Potential scores were noted was 22 years 5 months, but it seems worthy of note that the average age of the two lowest groups, by reading age, was 21 years 7 months, whereas that of the highest group was 23 years 9 months. It may be possible to infer that this group of students, acquiring their qualifications prior to the computer-scored objective testing technique of the J.S.C. examination benefitted from more traditional methods. There was no possibility of ascertaining whether they may have been served instead by the advantage of attendance at a Junior Training College.

(1) Ibid. p 21.

1972 Intake: 64 Teachers' College students
Distribution of Learning Potential Scores,
by reference to reading ages.

Learning Potential Scores				Student totals
	51 - 60	61 - 70	71 - 80	81 - 90
READING AGE to				
15.7		x x		
to		x x x		
		x x x		
12.3	x	x x xx x		
	xx	x xxxxxx x	x x	
	xxx	x xxxxxxxxxx	x x xx x x	x
12.2				
AGE to				
	x			
11.2	x x			
	xxxx	x xx	xx x	
11.16				
SCORES to				
9.5		x		
	x	x x	x	x
Student totals	14	36	12	2

Devised from: Gates Reading test - 1972-73 intake,
Bethlehem Teachers' College.

Other aspects of these problems, associated with student readiness for professional training, had also been the subject of inquiry within the College system. The Mico Research Council⁽¹⁾, a self-generated product of the College Curriculum Committee, designed to provide consultancy services to other colleges and to serve as a clearing house for research information and activities in teaching in the island, had as its first study,

"An investigation into the selection of students for the practical subject areas - Industrial Arts, Art and Craft, Home Economics, Physical Education and Music.

It set itself to find out:

(1) Hoyte C. Mico College 1961 - 1971.

- "1. The extent of previous exposure in the relevant (subject) areas now insisted on;
2. The necessity for previous exposure in these areas;
3. The main sources from which students are drawn for these practical subjects;
4. The minimum qualification considered necessary for entry into the courses offered at teacher training level;
5. The inhibiting factors affecting adequate flow of students for preparation for teaching in these areas."(1)

Ramcharan's findings from this inquiry stressed the feature of recruitment whereby the bulk of applicants came from all-age schools, generally found to be deficient in the teaching of these practical skills. College Principals and staff alike agreed with the observation that it was unrealistic to expect a college to produce a specialist teacher in these subjects in two years, when he had had no prior knowledge of the subject (and over forty per cent of students in the inquiry sample had no previous exposure to the skills or knowledge involved), a point stressed particularly for Industrial Arts, Art and Craft and Home Economics.

"The main sources from which students were drawn (in a sample of 114 students) were

All-age schools	..	..	..	66%
Vocational schools	..	..	..	8%
Technical schools	..	..	..	10%
Grammar schools	..	..	..	9%
Trade Training Centres	..	..	..	4%
Junior Secondary	..	..	..	3%

The most sophisticated (skill) training obtained at the Technical schools is not being brought into teaching

Students who come from the all-age schools struggle and barely manage to pass five J.S.C. subjects, invariably in English, Civics, History, Geography or Scripture. They therefore want to teach subjects of this nature."(2)

(1) Ibid. p 31

(2) Ibid. p 33

It was acknowledged that material incentives and career prospects in other areas enticed the able school leaver away from entry into the teaching profession, with only the weakest graduates from Technical High and High schools applying to Teachers' Colleges.

Possibly the most realistic observation was that the continuing lack of incentives for the propagation of practical teachers in the range of subjects noted might be overcome by the extension of training by an additional year and the acceptance of students without the traditional academic qualifications but with developed skills and aptitudes of the required order.

3. The College of Arts, Science and Technology and Teacher Training.

Further attention to the urgent demand for technical subject specialists was seen in the development of a Teacher Training course at C.A.S.T., though this venture was intended to produce technical teachers for secondary schools (no doubt considered a prime factor in drawing recruits) in Industrial, Commercial and Home Economics courses and in Physical education. Following commencement of the course in 1970 with a small Industrial Arts pilot group, a Business Education (Secretarial) group was added in 1971 but the 1972 Principal's Report conceded that:

"developments in this broad area have been going rather slowly and require the broad policy commitments of the Ministry for vigorous recruitment and enlargement."(1)

The 1973 Principal's Report⁽²⁾ noted a total of only nineteen teacher training students in the College student roll for 1972 - 73, though plans for the implementation of an enlarged course were proceeding well with financial aid (C\$ 800,000 in grant awards and \$ 480,000 for materials) from C.I.D.A., including Canadian technical lecturers and training awards for Jamaicans.

(1) Principal's Report 1971 - 72. C.A.S.T.

(2) Principal's Report 1972 - 73. C.A.S.T.

4. Jamaica School of Agriculture.

The 1969 - 70 Performance Report acknowledged an important contribution to the teaching force:

"During the course of the year, the Ministry recruited twenty-two graduates of the School of Agriculture to teach Agriculture. Three of these have resigned to take up more remunerative jobs in private industry. One Post-graduate student is employed as part-time agricultural teacher at the Lionel Town Junior Secondary school but he will be leaving at the end of the term to complete his research.

The total number of qualified Agriculture teachers are distributed as follows:

High schools	..	..	..	3
Comprehensive schools	..	..	..	1
Technical high schools	..	..	..	4
Junior secondary schools	..	..	..	15
Primary schools	..	..	..	2
Total	..	..	..	25

" (1)

5. The Excelsior Education Centre (EXED).

The need for more thorough in-school preparation for intending teachers was also recognised in the planning and developmental stages of the Community College which was to be an integral part of the Education Centre. From the inception of the Excelsior school as a private institution under the sponsorship of the Methodist Church, the Principal, Mr. A. W. Powell has steered its development, first to the status of grant-aided High school and, with a brief authorised by the Board of Excelsior School in 1968, to the current development of an educational complex: (2)

"EXED will contain the institutions which are the component parts of the present system of Education in Jamaica, and others, which will help to fulfil some of the changing needs arising in this developing country.

These institutions are:

- (i) Pre-primary school.
- (ii) Primary school.
- (iii) Junior Secondary school.

(1) Performance Report 1969 - 70. Section IX.

(2) Excelsior Education Centre (EXED). A Statement. Mimeo. 24th April 1972. p 2, 20.

"(iv) Senior Secondary school - Academic school.
 Senior Secondary school - Technical school
 (Industrial Arts School) One-unit
 Bi-lateral school.

(v) Community College.

Day Division - Sixth Form College for 'O'
 and 'A' level studies for pre-professional
 training.

Day Division - Sixth Form students taking
 two 'A' levels and the required subjects
 of an education course as well as Teaching
 Practice, in order to become qualified
 Teachers in the Primary and Junior Secondary
 schools. (Begun - 1970)

Evening Division for academic, technical,
 commercial and leisure time instruction
 courses. (Begun - 1972)

(vi) The Industrial Training Plant."

No details were available at the time of the field study, giving numbers of students in Teacher Training, but the programme designated 150 students in each of two years in the EXED Community College.

6. UNESCO/UWI/UNICEF Project "Teacher Training and curriculum development".

As a joint venture of the UNDP., the UWI., and governments of the fifteen countries in the English-speaking Caribbean this project was designed to expand and assist in improving teacher education and curriculum development at the 10 - 15 year pupil age level. For the Western Caribbean a Project team, based at the Mona Campus was instituted with a four-year term, from September 1971.

It was stated that:

"Practical outcomes of the Project can be expected to include:

new materials for Institute Documentation Centres
 and for Teachers' College libraries;

an increase in the flow of periodical literature
 and practical teaching materials to Colleges and
 selected schools;

improvement in the provision and use of audio-
 visual equipment and aids throughout the region;

a Regional Production Centre where educational
 materials of good design and quality can be
 produced;

"an increase in the capability of teachers' colleges to produce educational materials;

curriculum units relevant to language arts, mathematics-science teaching and learning at the 10 - 15 year level and supporting teacher-education materials;

support in planning functional curricula for the 10 - 15 year group;

an increase in the number and quality of in-service training workshops and of their output;

practical and concrete support for sound innovations in curriculum building and teacher education, especially micro-teaching, team teaching, curriculum integration, independent learning and the use of the media;

activity in support of teacher recruitment;

a substantial programme for the training of counterpart personnel (full-time) in language arts, maths, science teaching, administration/supervision, curriculum development, production of instructional materials, librarianship and correspondence studies; and of co-tutors (in service)."(1)

UNDP funding provided for eighteen internationally recruited experts, including those in the subject and developmental areas noted, with five of the UN personnel based in Kingston, a total for the island/region representing the Chief technical adviser for the project and maths, science, language arts and librarianship specialists. By Spring 1972 twenty-six counterpart personnel were either on full or part-time release to the Project or were having their links with the project regularised. Fieldwork exercises on classroom and college curricular materials had involved contact with 100 teacher educators and teachers over the whole region. "Production-training" workshops on a sector or regional basis were worked out in conjunction with School of Education administrators in the region, a major example being,

"'New approaches and the media in the Education of teachers.' - as a preliminary to introducing video-recording equipment to major Colleges in the Caribbean and having as an objective "to develop potential for innovation in teacher education."

(1) Reg 142: Project Report and Description. 27th April 1972.

"In addition to providing some up-to-date book materials, Reg. 142 has directed to Teachers' Colleges and Centres the audiovisual and other equipment which can be used to produce a variety of teaching/learning materials Most versatile are the Video-rover Systems which can be used to produce original videotapes."⁽¹⁾

The Workshop referred to was held in Kingston in February 1973 with the following programme:

I Objective and Evaluation in Teacher education.

1. Appraising teacher education programmes.

2. Practical training programmes.

Practical: Instruction in Video-rover system.

II Innovative components.

3. Microteaching.

4. The component skills approach.

Practical: Preparing Microlessons.

III Other innovative components.

5. Interaction analysis.

6. Modelling and protocols.

7. Simulation.

8. Role playing.

Practical: Microteaching.

IV Supervision and evaluation of practical teaching.

9. Supervision.

10. Evaluation of practical teaching.

Practical: Lesson evaluation.

V Organising for Innovation.

11. College programmes and micro-teaching.

12. Applications and projections.

VI Display/Demonstration of Workshop equipment and production.

Workshop objective: to develop potential for innovation in teacher education."⁽²⁾

(1) Teacher Training and Curriculum Development Project - progress report.
UNESCO/UN/UNICEF Reg. 142. 1st February 1973.

(2) Workshop for Teacher Educators - New approaches and the Media in the education of Teachers. Workshop programme February 1973.

How far this exposition of conceptual and theoretical studies, mostly deriving from educational systems in North America and Europe, can be said to contribute directly and effectively to the preparation of teachers for the elementary school system which still prevails in this area of the Caribbean is open to conjecture. For the considerable proportion of those teachers high in the establishment of the College and education system who obtained their own graduate or post-graduate education at universities outside the Caribbean it may have been both refreshing and stimulating. The relevance of the technique of microteaching, with its necessary plant comprising video-recorders, processing equipment and feedback mechanism, to enable analysis of five-minute sessions with five to ten students seems too far a cry for the author from the reality of rural classrooms in Jamaica with fifty-plus pupils.

Be that as it may, the Project was in its earliest stages of development at the time of the field study. It was not possible to ascertain details, for the Jamaican sector alone, of the number of teacher educators benefitting directly from the work of the Project team, nor, at this early stage in the exercise, the proportions of the work conducted on curriculum.

With expenditure in 1973 of up to U.S. \$35,000 on education workshops the Project will concentrate on the production of a wide range of materials and teaching aids relevant to the subject areas specified. With concentration on the Language Arts and Mathematics programmes the problems associated with these basic skills in the present student intakes may be alleviated. Basic priorities must be linked with the stimulation and seeding of ideas on curriculum development in the region, together with the development of specialists from the area, as the Project Progress report comments:

"Counterparting can and must proceed at the highest level of priority that Governments can accord to it. The training potential already exists and the project stands ready to develop it."(1)

(1) Teacher Training and Curriculum Development: Progress Report.
UNESCO/UNJ/UNICEF. Reg. 142. Kingston. February 1973. p 8.

EDUCATION THRUST FOR THE 70's.

IN-SERVICE QUALIFICATION OF PRETRAINED TEACHERS (1)

During 1973, the energies of the Ministry Planning Unit and the teaching profession were being applied to the problem of improving the status and qualifications of that proportion of the teaching force which was untrained or had inadequate levels of educational experience. The planning document put the proposals in the following terms:

"The elements which clearly must be tackled with the untrained teaching force are:

- (a) general educational standard,
- (b) specific knowledge for their particular teaching assignments,
- (c) professional competences."(2)

With the wide disparity in the needs of teachers in a range of situations and schools, the proposals were framed in such a way as to postulate the attainment of professional status by progress through in-service courses linked with credit status and contributing to certification within the space of three to five years.

"Courses proposed are:

- (a) Correspondence programmes, radio and seminar units over a year, for general education - particularly in Language Arts, Modern Mathematics, Science and Social Studies.
- (b) Correspondence and Cassette programmes - for special knowledge - to be applied in a systematic teaching unit assessed for effectiveness. This could be used for such specific professional requirements as methods of teaching reading, the introduction of new mathematical concepts in teaching, effective methods in environmental studies, social and scientific studies.
- (c) Participation in a grade year of the Curriculum development programmes, with systematic records of achievement, assessed for effectiveness."(3)

- (1) In-service qualification of pre-trained teachers.
Ministry Planning Unit, Kingston. Mimeo. January 1973.
- (2) Ibid. p 2.
- (3) Ibid. p 2.

Together with the programme for certification on the basis of progress in gaining credits, proposals for the establishment of a Four Year In-service Teacher education thrust⁽¹⁾ were outlined. The potential recruits for such training were to be identified by scrutiny of the Teachers' Pay-roll in order to concentrate attention on those who had continuous service over four years in duration. Thus a register of pre-trained teachers suitable for enrolment as in-service course workers could be compiled and at the same time, from the same source, possible candidates of mature status who may have taught but left the profession, could be approached with a view to rejoining the teaching force with a prospect of later certification. One feature of the proposed scheme, was the cumulative nature of the programmes with 'back-up' material building constantly, with similar advantages accruing to correspondence and cassette programmes. A not insignificant benefit developing from this area would be the body of material offered for possible future research activities indigenous to the island and based on regional data.

At the level of discussion which obtained at the period in which this document came to hand, assumptions were made on the possible distribution of candidates for training, between in-service, accredited work on Curriculum development and the In-Service Teacher Education Thrust (I.S.T.E.T.), or four-year in-service certification.

"A formula might well be 4,000 untrained teachers.

	<u>Curriculum Development</u>	<u>I.S.T.E.T. Courses</u>
Year 1	1,000	3,000
Year 2	1,500	2,500
Year 3	2,000	2,000
Year 4	3,000	1,000

Assuming four weeks of vacation courses and ten weekend seminars for each teacher, the costs of I.S.T.E.T. courses would be higher as the curriculum development programmes gain momentum."⁽²⁾

(1) Ibid. p 2.
(2) Ibid. p 6.

Conclusions.

The role of the state-school teacher in Jamaica has changed little, except through ambivalences in the environment surrounding the school. These aspects of change have developed new aspirations and appetites, some dominated by the industrialisation process, others by status, factors examined by Coombs:

- "1. the lag of teachers' salaries behind a rampant price inflation;
2. the extensive use of unqualified teachers whose salaries are well below those of qualified teachers;
3. an increase in the pupil-teacher ratio, reflecting the overcrowding of classrooms;
4. a shift in the educational 'mix' toward a higher proportion of lower-cost types of education; and
5. the double shift system." (1)

Wastage from the profession is probably the most significant factor, frustrating the development either of improvement in the teaching force, both quantitative and qualitative, or of enhanced status. As in more developed societies the proliferation of middle-class occupational roles has resulted in the diminution of both social and economic status for the teacher. At the same time, the skills acquired by the teacher, in literacy, communication and organisation, as well as his readiness to respect and support established order, equip him for social mobility.

The relationship between formal education and status, in the island, has had little relevance outside the selective area of private and secondary schooling. Indeed, the crisis for the teaching profession in the system, up to the level of first-cycle secondary provision, stems from inadequacies both in pre-service education and initial training, the same deficits as were noted in the West India Royal Commission and the Kandel, Easter and Evans Reports.

The effects of pluralism contributed to the enduring, though inescapable, practice of recruiting candidates from the All-age schools (similar career guidance from the developing Junior Secondary sector was impossible to gauge at the time of the field study), thus negating the possibility of their benefitting either from a "general" secondary education or from the development of practical skills.

Field Study Observations in 1972 - 73Primary and All-age Schools

For all state schools curriculum and teacher supply were areas in which severe constraints operated continuously throughout the period under review.

There were long-standing influences:

1. Attitudes, amounting almost to folk belief, linking education and status, thus 'white' academic curricula were seen as advantageous, while 'practical' subjects were abhorred.
2. The continuous presence of alternative sources of education. Since the private schools catered largely for a white or brown clientele they confirmed the myth of education as a social cachet. 'Poor private' schools, run for profit, or charitably under denominational sponsorship, opened, particularly in urban areas; a seemingly logical reaction to the lower class demand for access to a form of private tuition. These schools suffered staffing problems also, but since their goals were specific, coaching for the entry examinations of the high school sector was the prime commitment; and pupil motivation was high, classroom conditions were superior in a number of ways to those in the state schools.
3. The fact that entry to academic secondary education was highly selective meant that the examination dominated the course and content of curriculum in the primary grades. Even the pace was measured, with grade examinations to check progress towards a desired standard at a critical age.
4. Concentration upon the range of subjects known, or imagined, to be appropriate to educational development at secondary age levels, created a 'pecking order' of subjects in the time table. This is a feature not confined to the Jamaican education system.
5. The cumulative effect of these influences created hierarchies within the school population. Able, articulate pupils were prized in relation to average or slow-learning pupils. Trained teachers, often principals, coached classes in the same way as did the private schools, with the aim of securing success in the Common Entrance Examination.

6. Teacher reaction to these social and educational pressures was fairly predictable. Teaching styles varied little since new teachers were influenced by the role models they had learned from. Parental pressure and pupil aspiration were conducive to formal methods, which probably account for the stereotype of rote-learning which has grown up around Jamaican primary education.
 7. Schools were ranked by the community in terms of their level of efficiency, meaning how many successful candidates they could produce from year to year. This also is a feature of schools and communities in developed as well as in developing societies.
- In this respect, the effects of urban drift have become critical. It seems fair to recognise that teachers are as prone as anyone else to be influenced by the conveniences of an urban life-style. To these advantages were added the existence of, even marginally, improved opportunities for school leavers, the presence of more highly motivated pupils, (either urban or of rural backgrounds) ambitious enough to migrate internally, the presence also of trained colleagues in much greater proportions, and benefits universally prized by teachers such as smaller classes, improved facilities and teaching resources - and free periods in the timetable.

Divisive aspects of primary and all-age education

The effects of the selective secondary and private sectors are both traumatic and socially divisive for the bulk of the child population. Kuper estimates,

"that today the chances of a small-holder's child getting into an academic secondary school and so perhaps entering a clerical or even professional career are perhaps 3 in 100. This would rise to 7 in 100 for the child of an urban worker, and to virtually 100 per cent for the children of the upper middle class.

Ironically, the educational system, which so obviously maintains the existing structure of privilege, is a crucial ideological support of the social system."⁽¹⁾

(1) Kuper, A. Op. cit. p 74.

Several features continued to dominate the sector.

1. The continual impoverishment of the rural schools. First, in the removal of their most promising pupils through internal migration. Since little over half of the total number of schools mustered successful candidates in the 1974 Common Entrance Examination, it seems feasible that rural schools may well have comprised most of the proportion with unsuccessful students.

In an analysis of the 1974 Common Entrance examination results⁽¹⁾ for the schools seen during the field study, ten urban schools had 162 successful candidates between them (62 boys, 100 girls). Nine rural schools had 31 successful pupils (8 boys, 23 girls). Four rural schools were unsuccessful.

Second, in the steady erosion in the numbers of qualified and competent staff, either due to urban drift or to wastage from the profession. The age pyramid for the sector shows significant wastage in the school population as those pupils remaining, after the examination opportunities have passed them by, see little but disincentives to learning.

2. The continual frustration of any commitment on the part of the schools to develop practical or vocational attributes. This may well have been a tacit agreement with community values in education, but even were this not so, the obstacles were formidable. Teacher education, it appeared, simply did not, or could not, recruit students with the necessary skills and educational experience. Apart from Home Economics and Art and Craft, practical subjects were not included in the curriculum of the Teachers' Colleges so far as the Ministry publication of 1971 showed.⁽²⁾

An almost total lack of facilities, equipment and teaching space for these subjects in the schools further precluded the possibility of their inclusion in the timetable. So far as the possibility of their future development is concerned, the table showing site accommodation by types of school

(1) Common Entrance Examination, 1974. The Daily Gleaner. 11th May 1974.

(2) A teachers' guide to Jamaica. Ministry of Education, 1971.

seems to indicate that space is the ultimate limiting factor, with roughly 320 pupils per acre of utilisable space. (Appendix II)

3. For all schools in the sector the competitive instinct affected both teachers and pupils. Grade examinations, signifying either promotion or the repetition of a whole, or part of a grade, attuned the school to streaming by ability. With the incidence of untrained teachers in the profession, preferential treatment of achievers, by the allocation of the best teachers to the most promising pupils, can only have had deleterious effects upon the less than able pupil.
4. More positive indicators were found during the field study which may have shown favourable trends in the struggle against illiteracy.

First there was the invariable listing, among additional resources in schools, of The Childrens' Own, a paper produced by the Gleaner Company for primary age pupils. The growth rate in the number of accredited sales of this childrens' paper gave some indication of a folk desire for reading material - in the increase from 30,167 copies in January 1962, to 115,241 copies in March 1973. (Appendix III)

Second, a significant contribution to the fight against functional illiteracy was made by the Jamaica Library Service.⁽¹⁾ From a book stock of 27,970 and under six thousand readers in 1948, the service had expanded its stock, in 1969, to 581,406 books, had 296,485 readers and had issued over 1.7 million loans through two hundred and sixty two centres. The Schools Library Service, established in 1955, had increased the number of school libraries from 333 in 1955 to 791 in 1969; increased book stocks from 17,704 to 257,694 in the same period, and had an estimated total of pupils served in 1969, or over 400,000. Subsequent progress, to book stocks of over 470,000, readership members of over 460,000 and service points in 844 schools, in 1973, is shown in the Fact Sheet which forms Appendix IV.

(1) Jamaica Library Service: 21 years progress, 1948 - 1969. Jamaica Library Service 1972.

Bookmobiles were introduced in 1957 to service the accessible schools; in 1972, only 44 schools were classified as inaccessible and these were reached by vans, or a collection was made at a convenient point. The regional schools library units service an average of 159 schools, visiting nine schools each week. The service aimed at allocation to all primary schools of 150 - 300 books, based on school rolls below, or in excess of 500 pupils. For junior secondary schools the allocation was 1,000 - 1,800 books, always housed in the furnished library which is part of the World Bank scale of provision. Primary schools were not in the same fortunate position. Several of the primary and all-age schools visited on the field study were reached by the aid of the library service and the book exchange was plainly an event eagerly awaited by the pupils.

The same positive reaction was seen in the rural villages when the bookmobile arrived, however late. Patient queues surged aboard and though the author had no librarianship skills, he was kept constantly occupied filling new membership tickets at each of the stops. The Public Library service, by 1969, had thirteen parish libraries, 46 branch libraries, 139 book-centres and 64 bookmobile book-exchange stops. ⁽¹⁾

Early finance from the Department of Education was in the sum of \$6,000 annually, in 1955 the grant was increased to \$13,000. In 1968 - 69, the Ministry of Education provided a sum of \$138,644 for the service, which at that time was employing a staff of thirty-nine.

Educational outcomes in the Junior Secondary Sector

At the time of the field study the sector building schedule was virtually complete. Some indicators of anticipated outcomes from the schools established early in the programme were apparent. Ambivalencies were seen here also. Although the declared intention was to offer an extension of secondary-style education to a wider section of the appropriate year groups, it was clear that norms were geared to Secondary, second-cycle (or academic high school) conditions

(1) Ibid. p 261

Staffing ratios were more generous, class sizes were maintained rigorously to the prescribed numbers and school accommodation in terms of utilisable space was larger as the Appendix on site accommodation shows. In the absence of an equally rigorous forward planning schedule to provide a full cadre of adequately trained and prepared teachers to present a curriculum exercise,

"where corrective action is taken to remedy defective starters; to arouse the interest of students and challenge their abilities; to acquaint students with various occupational skills which will make them more equipped as they enter the labour force, and to raise the level and standard of education (of) those who move into upper secondary and higher educational institutions,"(1)

some anomalies with the declared ethos of the Master Plan programme were seen. Partly, these were due to the same deficiencies in staffing allocations for the practical subject areas, most notably in agriculture, as had been apparent in the primary and all-age sector. Perhaps as a result of this, the curriculum in the schools seen tended to emphasise the classroom-based, formal and academic subjects, possibly the effect was a combination of the adoption of subjects for which the teachers' own educational background had best prepared them and of conformity to the norms of expectancy of the pupils and the community. Since a traditional association existed between secondary education and examination success these schools regulated their progress through the curriculum for the first cycle on the basis of preparing students, first for the J.S.C., and subsequently in the extended education in Grade 10 which operated in each of the schools seen, for G.C.E. 'O' level examinations. It was notable also that in pursuance of these educational goals the staff were unanimous in their aims to correct old pupil habits which may have developed during primary school age. These were habits of lateness and absenteeism, the causes of which have been examined in earlier chapters. As several members of staff pointed out on the field study, "We teach a five day timetable here" thus emphasising that desired outcomes in pupil behaviour would enhance attitudes or application and endeavour.

(1) Master Plan Report. Junior Secondary School Programme. Preface, p iv. .

As to the curriculum areas into which this endeavour was channelled, despite the well-founded laboratories and workshops, the available examination data on subject choice seemed to confirm that the subjects which were favoured in formal, academic high school education were also favoured here.

Educational outcomes in the Secondary High and Technical High schools

As far as the evidence on High school performance to the end of the first decade of Independence was concerned, formal academic education in a range of traditionally acceptable subjects was still the norm. Most, if not all schools, by their policies on staff recruitment, or on choice of subject areas and in the ordering of school affairs, were still modelled on schools of the elite style copied originally from the English system.

With the blend of socialising and competitive influences involved in the school house system, and attitudes of responsibility and authority deriving from the school prefect system, pupils were inducted into a series of dominant roles. Within the school populations hierarchies existed, based just as much as in the outer society upon social class and colour as Miller's 1969 study on self-concept among Jamaican High school girls confirmed. It was plain however, that disadvantaged pupils who could first aspire, then attain and finally excel in desirable goals within the school system were accepted in the sense that they brought honour to the school.

The schools were aware of, and sensitive to, their responsibilities in the maintenance of elite standards. Streaming of year groups resulted in the familiar pattern of placing the most academically qualified staff with the most able pupils. A more detailed study in depth may attest to the validity of the hypothesis that the pupils performing at less satisfactory levels were those with all-age and primary school backgrounds. There was not sufficient evidence from the field study to raise this suggestion above the level of inference (mainly derived from teacher attitudes and expectation).

Whatever the facts of the situation, however, these potentially socially mobile pupils adjusted to the norms of regular school attendance. In all probability the social rewards of high school life accounted for this in great measure.

The teaching resources and school facilities, the small teaching groups and, by comparison, lavish accommodation must have been both stimulating and awe-inspiring to pupils lately attending small rural schools. As the table on site accommodation confirms, high schools were well endowed with spacious grounds. In the main, space was utilised for sports and recreational activities, again, on the English model. With the exception of the girls' urban high school which had tennis courts and its own swimming pool, all the school seen had a sports field used for cricket and football or rugby football, or had sufficient acreage for a 440 yard running track for the annual school sports. In the latter respect, the rocky land at Knox College defeated this objective, but a smaller track had been laid out.

School magazines, annual publications notably financed in part by the sale of advertising space, were fairly consistent in their reinforcement of desirable attitudes:

"It is pleasing to watch this improvement (of the academic standards in the school), but we should work for excellence, and applaud only excellence." (1)

House reports, games reports, form and subject prizes, examination results, essays and poems from a range of pupils, progress of alumni, interviews with members of staff and details of school societies and clubs formed the reading material, together with puzzles and the annual crossword. Photographs of staff and pupil year groups, or of prize winning teams, competed with advertisements for visual effect.

Schools invariably followed the 'honours board' practice of recording the contribution of alumni, prefects, heads of school, or of school teams. Also on display were the school trophies, with appropriate deference to inter-school, or island competition prizes.

(1) Editorial in The Munronian. 1971 - 72.

Schools and Society in Jamaica.

Discontinuities, such as have been examined, may have been due, in part, to the transition from the agrarian economy, subsidised to a degree by the Colonial Development and Welfare Fund, to the new industries of bauxite mining and tourism, financed from Canada and the United States, upon which rapid economic growth in the 1960's relied. Neither expansion in manufacturing industry, relying in the main upon regional trade in the Caribbean, nor the major earners noted above created similar growth in employment. Capital - rather than labour-intensive development meant that job opportunity relied heavily upon levels of education.

This was demonstrable in terms of a division between rural and urban, and manual and non-manual groups within the population. At either level, under-employment was, potentially, as great a problem as unemployment. Although the pattern and content of educational provision thus far established in Jamaica places the country a considerable way from the bottom of the league of states under the Third World label it is plain that the process as well as the provision of education in the island has contributed to these difficulties, fostering as they did aspiration levels which, it was argued, were attainable through formal 'academic' education. However, 'in truth and in fact', it is hard to see how teachers could have done otherwise, operating within the value system which dominated the culture in the first decade of independence. Anomalies between such a value system and the needs of an emergent nation were examined by Prime Minister Manley:

"The pre-condition of economic expansion in the condition of political freedom is the development within the society of the skills without which a sophisticated economy cannot function.

Our educational system, on the other hand, has responded to the new challenge by seeking to expand the system in its old form..... our educational system, in common with the systems of many other countries in the Third World is in danger of producing increasing numbers of people fitted for the professions, the bureaucracy or white collar careers." (1)

(1) Manley, M. The Politics of Change. Andrew Deutsch. 1974. Pt.II.Ch.4, p 142.

(1)

The appeal which these goal systems offered was seen by Mau, from whose small sample (54 'Jamaican leaders' and 132 'urban lower-class respondents' - within Trench Town, West Kingston) the myth of the threatening masses was explored:

"While influential Jamaicans perceived the masses as threatening, poor Jamaicans did not reciprocate their feelings of social distance and fear or dislike; on the contrary, they provided, often, models of achievement." (2)

This same achievement was rendered difficult of access by factors which Coombs examined as disparities in societies undergoing rapid social change:

"First is the sharp increase in popular aspirations for education, which has laid siege to existing schools and universities.

Second is the acute scarcity of resources, which has constrained educational systems from responding more fully to new demands.

Third is the inherent inertia of educational systems, which has caused them to respond too sluggishly in adapting their internal affairs to new external necessities, even when resources have not been the main obstacle to adaptation.

Fourth is the inertia of societies themselves - the heavy weight of traditional attitudes, religious customs, prestige and incentive patterns, and institutional structures - which has blocked them from making the optimum use of education and educated manpower to foster national development." (3)

However appropriate, the efficacy of Coombs' reasoning here may be held in question on the grounds of its being derived primarily from a study of colonial dependencies in Africa, Asia and the New World. The West Indies appears to be a special case, principally on the issue established by Manley:

"Slavery added a dimension to the Caribbean situation that has no parallel in the colonial experience of Africa, India, Indo-China and the like... Colonialism and slavery combined to fashion a society which had little natural gift for co-operation.... it would be true to say that Jamaica has never had a period of its history in which it has accepted the work ethic." (4)

On the one hand, one must examine, as Manley does, the feelings of obscurity and shame associated with the African slave-heritage of the bulk of the population - only recently investigated for favourable inferences, such as the undoubted evidence of African civilisations, and African influence on art, and on the other

(1) Mau, J.A. Op.cit. Chap, 8 p 112/3.

(2) Kuper, A. Changing Jamaica. p 152.

(3) Coombs, P.H. Op.cit. p 4.

(4) Manley, M. Op.cit. pp, 146, 150, 152.

the effect of values imposed by a hierarchically structured society,

"and Jamaica is, perhaps, the member of the Black Caribbean community in which class boundaries are most deeply entrenched." (1)

There is a generality of educational goals which appear to subscribe to aspiration levels linked with status positions and non-manual occupations. Here Coombs, examining the outputs of educational systems, lists disparities between the employment difficulties noted earlier and the social forces within which the educational system carries out its work.

- "(a) inappropriate wage and salary relationships, which tend to draw scarce manpower in the wrong directions;
- (b) inappropriate and overly rigid relationships between particular types of jobs and the 'official' educational qualifications for them;
- (c) traditional prejudices and concepts of status (opposed especially to manual labour) that repel young people from the very types of work most needed for development, drawing them instead to relatively less productive jobs;
- (d) a traditional 'caretaker' and 'supervisory' concept of government - in contrast to the 'activist' concept needed to spur development; this leads to an inflation of the civil service establishment and chains many of the most competent people to paper work when they should be released for more positive development action." (2)

From the evidence of operational levels in the different age sectors of the island system it would appear that education in Jamaica has been instrumental in the perpetuation of each of these factors, though in fairness one should concede that many of the inputs of the system were a legacy of the colonial period.

"If one scans the horizon of the Jamaican experience in, say, 1962, at the moment of our independence, one has only to select areas at random to see the insidious, pervasive effect of the colonial experience..... take for example, our educational system. It was imported lock, stock and barrel from England without a moment's thought about its relevance to Jamaica's needs and aspirations. This was not because of a failure of the intellect on the part of those who transplanted it. Rather, I suggest that there was a failure of perception: an inability to perceive that the first responsibility of the educator is to address his mind - his mind, not somebody else's mind - to the question of our needs." (3)

(1) Ibid. p. 159.

(2) Coombs, P.H. Op.cit. p 89.

(3) Manley, M. Op.cit. Pt.I. Ch 1, p 21/2.

Dysfunctionality in educational change.

An examination of 'needs' in the broad spectrum of educational provision in Jamaica, until 1972, invites the hypothesis that, the egalitarian principles of the early P.N.P. administration apart, the preservation of privilege has been one of its major goals. Two major premises underpin this allegation:

One. The extent of the difference in qualitative and quantitative terms between educational provision in the state primary sector and in secondary schools.

Two. The singular nature of conservatism in the academic secondary sector, not only in terms of curriculum but also in the significantly slow rate of expansion in secondary school places during the J.L.P. administration.

Miller (1971) argued that with the undoubted potential of the top streams of the island primary and all-age schools at the age of eleven to twelve years, the intake of secondary high schools could be doubled without

"going out of the limits of mental ability and achievement that could be considered pre-requisite for successful mastery of the type of education offered in high schools." (1)

It is recognised that major problems beset the policy and administration of educational provision, not the least of these being the question of what to do with qualified school-leavers in an economic situation which, seemingly, defies attempts to lower the rates of unemployment and under-employment. At the same time, it is felt that social, political and cultural factors have combined to maintain the 'status quo' in educational provision. Miller, relating the effects of the social class hierarchy upon education put the situation:

"Over the past hundred years the educational system has been determined to a large extent by the Upper stratum, because of their power and influence in the society, and by the Traditional Middle stratum because of the control they have had in the operation of the system.

The system has almost always manifested two different ideas about education.

- (a) It has manifested the ideas of the ruling classes about the education of their own children... (education) is oriented toward ideas of the good life, and it is almost completely unrelated to the immediate claims of the economy.

- (b) It has manifested the ideas of the ruling classes about what should constitute education for the children of the lower classes. These ideas have always been different from the ideas concerning the education of their own children..... ideas about education of the lower strata have always reflected the superiority/inferiority outlook that has been characteristic of White/Black relationships in Jamaica. Education for the lower strata has always been conceived in functional terms... Needless to say, its quality has always been poor." (1)

It is needful to recognise that the lower social strata 'have never participated in the educational system for the reasons advanced by the ruling sections for providing them with education'. Where ability and potential occurred it was applied to the pursuit of academic rather than functional goals, thus frustrating both the aims of the controlling elites and the needs of society. The extent to which policy and administration in educational provision also contributed to this level of dysfunctionality in the primary, all-age and junior secondary state schools is seen in the summary of teaching conditions observed during the field study year. Equally apparent in the summary, is the durability of the attitudes and goals of the upper and middle strata, exemplified in the levels of provision and stated norms for the academic high schools.

Political ideals and 'images of the future'.

"There is a school of social anthropology that has actually contended that class divisions in Jamaica are so deeply rooted as to create the conditions of a plural society. I myself doubt if this is totally valid but there is sufficient evidence to support a plausible argument...

It is clear that the process of transformation from a stratified to a classless society must begin with the educational process." (2)

Prospects of change and the advancement of egalitarianism in the extension of opportunity to cohorts of black Jamaicans, from whom it had been withheld, were outlined in the plans of the new administration in 1973. Announcing current (1973-1974) expenditure on education of \$J 87 million (or twenty percent of government spending), including the Skill Training Programme and the National Literacy campaign, expansion of secondary school places from 4,000 to 7,000 at entry,

(1) Ibid. p. 65/6.

(2) Manley, M. Op.cit. p. 159

two extra years of Junior Secondary education, including vocational training and the abolition of fees, including additional subscriptions for games and home economics subjects, the Prime Minister stressed the need for the development of human resources - 'we feel that people are the key to progress'. (1)

The philosophy was re-emphasised at a later date:

"During childhood, we have a golden opportunity to instil in people a sense of the naturalness of work and the satisfaction which it can provide." (2)

The necessity to change both emphasis and content in education, in order to provide the manpower needs of a modern economy -

"one has not only to plan consciously to provide a wider range of subject options..... a way must be found to persuade children to choose new careers which are alien to the common experience," (3)

was seen as the justification for a re-orientation of the value system:

"Attitudes and the role of the educational system in the general task of psychological transformation.

Objectives:

- 1st. To seek to instil a spirit of confidence individually and collectively so that the psychological foundation for self-reliance may be laid.
- 2nd. One must consciously train young people to accept the spirit of social cooperation as the foundation of national success and achievement and as a natural result of social and political awareness.
- 3rd. One must strive consciously to create a general acceptance of the work ethic as both a means to personal satisfaction and the personal investment that each man must make in the progress to which he is committed by his ambition.

Finally, one must seek to train people to be capable of self-perception. It is only through the awareness of the self in its relationship to the social group and, hence, of the social group in relation to its total environment that one can hope to create the psychological climate within which self-confidence, a spirit of cooperation and the acceptance of work as a creative aspect of experience are possible for a people." (4)

(1) The Sunday Gleaner 27th May, 1973.

(2) Manley, M. Op.cit. p. 153.

(3) Ibid. p 143.

(4) Ibid. p 145.

EPILOGUE - OR PROLOGUE?

The field study year coincided with a change of government in the island, it having already become a convention that each party gains public support for two terms. Thus, the salient features of educational provision reflected both the ethos of the outgoing government and the cumulative effect of ten years J.L.P. administration.

The foundation and directions of the P.N.P. philosophy on education were debated in the House of Representatives in the penultimate month of the field study. Several of the facets of the educational system which came under examination, have been dealt with in the text of this study as they were of topical interest. The essential differences in political attitudes to the process of education have also been related as causal or consequential factors, whenever appropriate.

At present, the essential proposals for change, development, improvement or expansion are all that can be considered. The outcomes of such proposals are purely conjectural and cannot be seen as falling within the scope of the present study.

Educational reform

The salient features of the P.N.P. educational policy, in 1973, centred upon the possibilities of improving the quality of education for the masses. Proposals which have been identified already, included the In-depth Probe into Primary education, designed to analyse and quantify the degrees of delay, disadvantage and dis-array in the primary and all-age schools. Much of the ground had been covered in the Jamaica Teachers' Association survey, already utilised as part of the present study. In 1973, one assumes, the inquiry had the full might of the establishment behind it, rather than the degree of influence exercised by the pressure group of the teachers' association. At the same time, ministerial, administrative and professional energies were being devoted to a Curriculum Development Thrust, in which critical areas were designated for attention, though it must be recognised that 'Language Arts' and Mathematics Projects had been part of the programme of the previous administration.

The first concern was the problem of illiteracy, partially countered by the establishment of an 'Adult Literacy' campaign.

The qualitative aspects of the various examinations, to which the schools have fallen heir, were also considered objectively. A fundamental approach to the manner in which the educational process has been influenced by examination practice was aired in the committee's definition of curriculum aims.

"So far, curriculum reform has been tackled in subject areas, with varying courses and programmes for each. Systematic curriculum development is concerned with the impact of the whole curriculum on the pupils It is therefore suggested that the specialists now pool their knowledge and experience to arrive at a definition of what should be achieved by the aid of a nine-year education in skills (what pupils can do), knowledge and insights (what pupils can call upon and use because they understand it), attitudes (what pupils hold as values)."(1)

Very much a 'planning document' the paper anticipated a four-year induction programme, during which time the whole range of grades could be affected, the 'rhythm of curriculum development' being expressed in model form:

<u>Precise Objectives</u>	<u>Evaluation</u> (Sounding to find the right baseline for operation.)
<u>Evaluation</u> (Of the outcomes.)	<u>Programming</u> (including teacher preparation, preparation of materials and programmes.)"(2)

Components of the programme were to be a 'no holds barred' pattern of pre- and in-service preparation of teachers, programming (not syllabus writing') of desired skills, knowledge and attitudes, supporting books and teaching materials and supporting audio-visual aids and presentations.

Among the most significant implications of the programme were these:

"While additional staff must be needed, a far more important deployment is role definition in changing circumstances. While curriculum reform has been peripheral its demands have been an extra on all but the specialist education officers and the selected teachers in his current programme. If curriculum development is the operation the role of education officers, supervisors, teacher educators and the teachers themselves is to concentrate on the agreed phases in changing education itself.

- (1) Gordon, S.C. A Curriculum Development Thrust. Paper I. Mimeo, Ministry Planning Unit. August 1972.
 (2) Ibid. p 4.

"Resources are undoubtedly needed to modernise education in Jamaica; much of the shortfall has been caused by the lack of them. However, without a planned and agreed commitment to phased change in education (curriculum development) new staff, new equipment and new materials will make little fundamental change (see the junior secondary schools)."(1)

Projected outcomes of the In-depth Probe into primary education were contained in the Ministry document The Education Thrust of the 70's. The new emphasis of P.N.P. policy programmes included

- "1. The upgrading and improvement of the technical and professional competence of the system as well as its content, methodology, plans and resources.
2. The development of a modern stable teaching profession on which all educational reconstruction depends.
3. The development of an effective Functional education of nine years for all young people of six to fifteen years old.
4. More infant education to ensure that children are stimulated and prepared for functional education in the school years.
5. Expansion of Grade 10 and 11 education (for children aged 16 - 17) to ensure that prospective teachers, business, commercial, industrial and technical employees have received five years of secondary education with pre-vocational courses where necessary and with emphasis on children of this age group now attending Junior Secondary schools.
6. Expansion of vocational education for technical, industrial, business and commercial employment at middle and higher manpower levels.
7. Expansion of higher education particularly to fill positions for which we remain heavily dependent on the employment of expatriates, such as teachers, engineers, architects, etc. etc.
8. Curriculum development in all its aspects as an ongoing dynamic for educational change.
9. The development of modern tests and examinations designed to guide candidates into future activities in education and employment rather than to fail them for both.

(1) Ibid. p 5.

- "10. The development of guidance services to deploy young people into the programmes and employment best suited to their individual attainments and aptitude.
11. The coordination of the independent school contribution with the public educational system.
12. Increased assistance for the education and training of physically and mentally handicapped children.
13. The development of a flexible, modern management function at the Ministry of Education to service the changing needs of educational reconstruction as well as improving the management functions of other educational institutions under the Ministry's supervision.
14. The introduction of island-wide compulsory education but initially in areas satisfying the legal criteria and more particularly in the areas in which the shift system has been introduced."⁽¹⁾

Apart from the needs of the child population in primary and all-age schools, recommendations were being devised by a Post 'O' level working party. Their proposals for the academic year 1973 - 74 were designed to mitigate 'some of the worst features we have identified':

- "(a) The continuing high failure rate in 'A' level examinations.
- (b) The Sixth Form pupils' own critical boredom with their narrow curriculum.
- (c) The wastefulness of duplicated effort and limited offerings in some schools for very small groups of pupils.
- (d) The limited range of Post 'O' level courses to prepare candidates particularly for the middle man-power needs for social and economic development.
- (e) The very inadequate supply of qualified candidates for further education, training and employment to meet the country's quantitative and qualitative needs for higher and middle man-power.
- (f) An over-dependence on expatriate teachers, especially in country schools."⁽²⁾

(1) Education Thrust of the 70's. p 1/2.

(2) Interim report; Post 'O' level working party. Ministry Planning Unit. Mimeo. Undated. 1973. p 1.

Together with proposals for the amalgamation of Sixth forms, on the basis of links formed between schools in the corporate area, or in the extra-metropolitan parishes, there were proposals to offer free places to candidates who had attained a minimum of 5 'O' level passes. Probably the most significant recommendation suggested that students similarly qualified in the Technical High schools should be given free places in C.A.S.T. or in the Jamaica School of Agriculture. However, the interim report went on to say

"We also recommend that qualified candidates from secondary high schools be offered free places at the same institutions."⁽¹⁾

Among the major concerns of the working party were:

- "(a) lack of achievement, wastage and irrelevance in current Post 'O' level education.
- (b) The prevailing purpose of Sixth Form education is the acquisition of 'A' level passes for overseas syndicates, mainly for entry to the U.W.I.
- (c) Over the last few years 41% of the papers taken have been passed; the increasing numbers of Sixth Form pupils mean, in absolute terms, increasing numbers of failed 'A' levels.
- (d) This means that the majority of candidates are left in relation to further education and employment, virtually where they had been two years earlier.
- (e) The debilitating effects of failure, or minimal achievement with boredom, have to be added to the formal failure.
- (f) The teaching force for 'A' levels is fluctuating, in country schools there is a heavy reliance on expatriate teachers.
- (g) By any criterion of man-power need the flow-through to Post 'O' level educational programmes is inadequate.
- (h) Training for specific occupations is inadequate or lacking for the country's needs."⁽²⁾

The policies and programme projected for the 'In-service qualification of pre-trained teachers' have been dealt with in a previous chapter.

(1) Ibid. p 3.

(2) Ibid. p 4.

Long term policies on the implementation of a National Youth Service were the subject of a working paper, for submission to the House of Representatives, as a White Paper in the autumn of 1973. In June of that year, the draft paper recognised the problem:

"There are at present in Jamaica approximately 340,000 young people between the ages of 15 and 23 years.

Of these, 190,000 are unemployed and 90,000 are illiterate.

The consequences are plainly observable in the increase of crime, a general sense of frustration, and the social alienation of those who are without employment and without expectation.

There is no practical means by which the Government can offer immediate improvement for all. At the same time, it is absolutely necessary that the Government do as much as possible as quickly as possible in the formulation and execution of short and long term policies designed to save the Jamaican society."⁽¹⁾

Proposals and long term policy involved the establishment throughout the island of Youth Community Training Centres

"in which, eventually, EVERY YOUNG JAMAICAN between the ages of 16 and 18 years will be REQUIRED TO SPEND AT LEAST ONE AND NOT MORE THAN TWO CALENDAR YEARS."⁽²⁾

Within these centres, as well as objectives based on the continuing process of education, the development of useful and needed skills, or productive activities, and the cultivation of a general sense of national purpose together with a sense of interdependence between sections of the national community, there was proposed:

"THE BEGINNING OF A FUNDAMENTAL RE-STRUCTURING OF JAMAICAN SOCIETY AND ECONOMY BASED ON A CLEAR POLICY OF GRADUAL RE-DISTRIBUTION OF PROPERTY."⁽³⁾

Together with short-term goals which included the objective,

"to site, construct, programme, populate and bring into productivity, BY OCTOBER 1973 at least FORTY YOUTH COMMUNITY TRAINING CENTRES throughout the island,"⁽⁴⁾

(1) National Youth Service: draft paper. Ministry of Youth and Community Development. June 1973. p 5.

(2) Ibid. p 5.

(3) Ibid. p 5.

(4) Ibid. p 6.

the paper examined conditions of service and the qualifications of teaching staff, and administrative staff:

- "(a) One of the gravest problems in our educational system, especially at the Primary and the newly instituted "Junior Secondary" level is that the schools are staffed by unqualified and untrained teachers.
- (b) Another is that neither teachers nor students have access to books, and consequently "lessons" are 'taught' by the uninformed to the uninspired.
- (c) TO DUPLICATE THESE WEAKNESSES IN THE YOUTH COMMUNITY TRAINING CENTRES WOULD BE NOTHING LESS THAN WANTON IRRESPONSIBILITY.
- (d) Teaching appointments MUST be justifiable in terms of the appointees' skills, and their ability to impart knowledge and arouse curiosity.
- (e) Libraries and teaching aids MUST be adequately provided, and every opportunity must be given to the students to improve themselves by their own intelligent work based on their own awakening curiosity.
- (f) FOR THESE REASONS THE GREATEST CARE MUST BE TAKEN TO AVOID THE ACCEPTANCE OF UNQUALIFIED ASSISTANCE WHETHER FREE OR PAID.

The ideal administrator is NOT a strict 'disciplinarian' in the accepted sense, but rather one who seeks to inspire the community to fashion its codes of behaviour and to bring its own pressures to bear on those who are selfishly prepared to damage and to inconvenience others in the search for their own personal advantage."⁽¹⁾

The implementation of the National Youth Service was to coincide with the newly instituted National Service⁽²⁾. This appears to offer the greatest range of possibilities for a contribution to the community from its youth:

"Prime Minister Manley pointed out that the new initiative being taken in Education depended upon the launching of a National Service. The concept of National Service, as he understood it, derived from the notion that Jamaica had a responsibility to develop its human resources making no distinction as to class or circumstances there should be a sense of giving back to the Jamaican society service commensurate with the

(1) Ibid. p 21.

(2) Government working party set up to plan programme for National Service. The Daily Gleaner, May 18th, 1973.

"privilege of being a member of the Jamaican society. There should also be the approach to building an integrated society in which people are not divided in their attitude to the society because they stem from various sectors of the society The concentration on Education which was now the greatest need did not mean that National Service should be restricted to Education. Young people should serve a sort of internship in their own field.

In so far as the first year's programme was concerned, it was an entirely voluntary programme aimed at education in the first instance, calling for volunteers, training them and then attaching them to people experienced in education."⁽¹⁾

The possibility thus appeared to present itself, for those youths fortunate, or privileged, enough to have enjoyed the benefit of education up to the age of 18 to offer service to others. The potential gain to society is inestimable, given that the process would place in the primary and all-age classroom more adults who had experienced full secondary education, than had ever appeared there before.

(1) Ibid.

SUMMARY OF CONCLUSIONS

1. The persistent evidence of neglect and continuing deprivation in the primary and all-age schools is probably the most effective indicator of discontinuity in the social orders of Jamaican society. As such it accords with the divisive plurality hypothesised by Smith (1965).
2. Certain ambivalencies in the pattern appeared to give credence to Miller's (1971) model of continuums in the social hierarchy, supporting also the notion of dysfunctionality in the education system. The ambivalencies were an outcome of perceived goals. Philosophical and economic arguments, emanating from the upper strata, were based on the necessity for practical outcomes, but the realistic assessment of attainable goals, as seen through the eyes of the lower strata, recognised only the dimensions of the achievement syndrome which the life-style of the upper tiers in society portrayed. Thus academic rather than practical skills and aptitudes were fostered by parent, pupil and teacher alike.
3. There was evidence, as Miller suggested, of an emergent skilled artisan class, but these individuals also recognised that the struggle for personal advancement faced, relatively, fewer barriers in more developed societies. The intensity of migration of skilled personnel appeared to confirm this trend.
4. Since the ordering of status hierarchies lay, historically, with the dominant 'white' culture there is little to be gained, it seems, from the customary examination of First World interference with Third World culture, since the original African culture of black Jamaicans had been suppressed ruthlessly under generations of slavery. This induced the anomalous situation wherein instant commitments to a 'work ethic' and to sustained employment, upon which the capital-intensive industrial process depends, were

cast out in favour of ambitions for academic education and non-manual occupations. The strength of the antipathy towards manual work and committed involvement was seen in a number of ways - not by any means confined only to Jamaica. Public services were prone to dislocation, not only through intermittent strike action, but also by the account of expatriate technicians, as a result of this lack of application; bus or coach crews failed to report for duty, power station engineers or maintenance staff left shifts before being relieved, or failed to complete a check-list before handing over, graduate, middle management supervisory staff were committed to the notion that a carpeted, air-conditioned office was a due reward, of itself precluding the practice of shop-floor supervision and involvement. One remarkable instance for the author was the incident which took place in the western parishes, when the Prime Minister inaugurated a local campaign to reclaim a plot of land for the island 'Operation Grow'. The situation was described by a Principal lecturer who had cancelled his teacher-education lectures to attend. When the Prime Minister had finished his address, and he and the platform party set about clearing rocks by hand, the lecturer gleefully recounted that his contribution was to mount the platform and direct operations.

5. The influence of a capitalist ethos in the first decade of Independence was most readily apparent, as in First World countries, through the media and advertising. As Berger⁽¹⁾ puts it, 'pushy salesmen elbow each other to offer their wares.' Within the economy, 'development', 'modernisation' and 'growth' were constant themes, constant that is, in the context of output and continued affluence. The enrichment process continued, however, to benefit elites alone. Though indirectly their well-being also depended upon the required levels of technical knowledge and skills which education and training could foster, these aptitudes, in sufficient degree, were not forthcoming from the system.

(1) Berger, P.L. Pyramids of sacrifice. Allen Lane. 1974.

6. The ethics of development, under J.L.P. administration, appeared to be distorted by misinterpretation. 'Good' growth, 'good' development, were too good for the masses. Thus the hoary arguments about standards sufficed as reasons why improvements in the primary sector proceeded as slowly as they did. The pace was so slow, in fact, that the cumulative effects of deprivation resulted in steadily deteriorating school conditions.
7. The dominant cultural values which upheld the principles of selectivity and elitism in the secondary sector of education, clearly subscribed to the gradualist philosophy that growth at the top levels in society would eventually work its way down the social pyramid. In the meantime, the prevalence of stereotyped attitudes, which confined desirable attributes to prescribed cultural groups, acted as a brake upon the extension of opportunity to the lower classes.
8. It is feasible to infer that the transition from colonial status to a situation where development was an extension of the 'American dream', brought further confusion and conflict, again through misinterpretation. Conflict of interests was seen in the adoption of capital-intensive production techniques which displaced labour; in education by the adoption of computer scoring in examinations which displaced markers, or, potentially, through the UNESCO/UWI/UNICEF teacher education project, by the adoption of expensive video-recording systems.
9. The maintenance of privileged sections of the society was readily subscribed to by outside forces, representative of similar elites in countries of the First World, notably the United States and Canada. As was revealed at a date close to the completion of this research, bribery and other inducements are among the tools of persuasion used by agents of multinational companies. Not being fools, the Jamaican people recognised these influences, but adopted the same philosophy as Merton recounted in

his sociological appraisal of American society.⁽¹⁾ Without reservation as to the era of the expression, he cited Charles Dickens' observation concerning the degree of respect accorded an individual who had acquired property,

"by the most odious and infamous means

'In the name of wonder, then, what is his merit?'

'Well sir, he is a smart man.'"⁽²⁾

Not all of the 'smart men' escaped challenge. There was, during the latter half of the field study year, a judicial inquiry into the whereabouts of funds for a 'missing secondary school', misappropriated from the World Bank loan for expansion of the education system.

10. Thus the evidence grows that gradualism, far from creating a 'spread effect' of economic benefits, has merely emphasised social distances.

"Growth without development is based upon the penetration of a Third World economy by foreign capital. This penetration results in a 'distortion' of the economy, in the sense that it develops not in terms of internal economic and social forces, but in the interest of the foreign 'metropolis'.⁽³⁾

This growth is characterised, also, by the emphasis upon durable consumer goods: cars, television sets, freezers for the super-markets which are taking over urban retail distribution. The goods which flowed in, largely in response to middle class demand in the first instance, did much less for the Jamaican economy than they did for the First World producer nations. The technology necessary for their production was far in advance of any skills which an emergent nation could develop. Their appearance meant further reliance on the expatriate technocrat or technician.

(1) Merton, R.K. Op. cit. Pt. II.

(2) Ibid. p 142.

(3) Berger, P.L. Op. cit. p 67.

11. In a critique of socialist models of development in Third World countries, Berger suggests,

"there is a good deal of ambiguity about the socialist alternative. It is doubtful whether the population as a whole benefits more under existing socialist systems than under capitalism. It is even doubtful whether such benefits as pertain are more equitably distributed."⁽¹⁾

What was apparent, even in the early pronouncements of the incoming P.N.P. establishment, was a change in emphasis based upon 'a massive reshuffling of power and privilege'. It is not easy to estimate the reactions to socialist policies of the left in Jamaica. The elder Manley attempted to steer a course aligned with intellectual rather than revolutionary socialist principles. In part, this seemed to accord with grass-roots opinion antipathetic to notions of collectivisation, particularly in terms of the island's major asset, land. How far a significant departure from this political philosophy may succeed was very questionable at the time when the field study was concluded.

12. There was evidence, however, of a move to an alignment of the island policies with those of regimes based on leftist models. During 1972 - 73 comments were made in the media of a rapprochement with Cuba; a delegation from Communist China was received. There was also some indication of the politicization of poverty. Although the masses had internalised the notions of hardy independence, albeit at a low level, they were adjured to forego ambition and self-advancement in the interest of the concept of the nation. This followed Berger's analysis of the 'dictatorship of the proletariat':

"large numbers of people will have to make strenuous efforts and forego immediate relief from their miseries. It is unlikely that, apart from short periods of collective enthusiasm, people will vote

(1) Ibid. p 104.

"such sacrifices for themselves. The hard decisions as to what sacrifices are necessary to attain specific developmental goals, therefore are much more likely to be the result of political leaders having dispensed with the business of popular voting."(1)

Developments in the island subsequent to the period under review suggest that new, or hitherto obscured, political elites are making ground. These may be described, in the Marxist terminology used by Berger, as 'the vanguard', or those whose self-appointed task it is to interpret the will of the masses, for the good of the masses. There is still, it seems, a hard road ahead for the Jamaican people.

(1) Ibid. p 105.

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TABLE II

Table to show site accommodation by type of school

Primary - Junior schools				Primary - all-age schools				Junior secondary schools				High / Technical high schools			
School	Enrol-ment	Rooms	Acres	School	Enrol-ment	Rooms	Acres	School	Enrol-ment	Rooms	Acres	School	Enrol-ment	Rooms	Acres
Urban	1,534	17	3	Urban	1,274	22	3	Urban	966	18	3.5	Urban tech (Ayn)	850	40	10.25
Urban Gov't.	1,055	9	4	Urban	1,500	21	4.5	Urban	550	13	4	Urban tech.	755	21	8
Rural	656	6	4	Urban	1,040	17	1.25	Urban	904	14	10	Urban (Ayn)	810	40	8.75
Rural	455	4	4.5	Rural	342	4	1.5	Urban	613	15	16	Urban	824	27	9
Urban Junior	1,024	22	.75	Rural	1,143	20	2.5	Rural	728	13	10	Rural Trust	420	17	150
Urban Infant	132	4	2	Rural	491	9	1.5	Rural	756	20	21	Rural Trust	400	13	100
Rural Trust	200	7	extensive	Rural	793	9	5								
	(see high school)			Rural	293	2	.5								
Mean of totals	1,300.6	9.9	3		859	14.25	2.2		740.7	16.6	13.5		670.6	27.3	49.3

Converted Senior School

APPENDIX IV.SCHOOLS LIBRARY SERVICEFACT SHEET

January, 1973

1.	BOOKSTOCK - December, 1972	474,205
	Primary Schools	378,218
	Junior Secondary Schools	95,987
2.	Periodicals and Magazines (Subscriptions)	8,097
	No. of different titles	51
	No. of issues	108,000
3.	READING MEMBERSHIP - September, 1972	463,000 .
	Primary Schools	410,000
	Comprehensive & Junior Secondary Schools	53,000
4.	STAFFING	
	Staff (Qualified Librarians 2)	45
5.	SERVICE POINTS -	844
	Region 1 based in Kingston	176
	Region 2 based in Montego Bay	149
	Region 3 based in Mandeville	148
	Region 4 based in St. Ann's Bay	164
	Region 5 based in Port Antonio	146
	Junior Secondary Schools	61

Source: Jamaica Schools Library Service. Mimeo. January 1973.

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